HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGAR

THE

Never To Be Forgotten Empire.

BY

B. Suryanarain Row, B.A., M.R.A.S.,

PART I.

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The Author of the History of Vijayanagar.

A HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGAR

THE

Never To Be Forgotten Empire.

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DEDICATION.

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TO

HIS HOLINESS

SACHIDANANDA SIVABHINAVA NRISIMHA

BHARATI SWAMI,

JAGADGURU, SRINGERI,

AS HIS HOLINESS

IS THE DIRECT WORTHY SUCCESSOR

ON THE

PONTIFICAL THRONE OF SAGE VIDYARANYA SAWMI,

THE FOUNDER

OF THE GRAND EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR,

BY THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

AS a student, I took much interest in the stories current all over Southern India about Krishna Deva Raya, and his court pundit and Jester Tennala Rama Krishna. I visited Anagondi and its ruins several times when I was practising in Bellary, and I have known the present Raja of Anagondi, Sriranga Devarayalu, for over fifteen years. As the compilation of a trustworthy history is always a difficult task, and as my time was taken up in my own business engagements and publications of works, I did not first seriously entertain any idea of writing a short sketch of this mighty empire, although that idea was ever prominent in my head for over 20 years. At the request of the present Raja I went to Anagondi, and spent there a couple of months, in collecting and comparing all the available information, and I visited in company with the Raja almost all the places which had any historical or religious associations about them. The result is most satisfactory, as I have seen personally, what I am asked to write about. The history may have its own defects, but the general interest of the sketch is so absorbing, that I am sure every reader will view my work with an indulgent turn of mind. My thanks are specially due to the present Raja of Anagondi, for placing all facilities in my way to complete this work, and make it as authentic, as a work can be finished, with the sources of information available at present.

B. SURYANARAIN ROW, B.A., M.R.A.S.

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1st *January*, 1905.

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Emperor Krishna Deva Rayalu of Vijayanagar.

THE

Never To Be Forgotten Empire "Vijayanagar."

INTRODUCTION.

In the immense cycles of Time it is but natural to witness the rise and fall of vast empires. Integrating forces build up empires while they crumble and fall down to pieces when the disintegrating political processes set in. Permanency does not seem to be a factor in the progress of Time. The older always seem to make room for the younger and the more vigorous—be the causes what they may. History seems to be simply a repetition of the problem of adjustment and readjustment of countries in the political vocabulary. While there are many causes which fall under the keen observation of clever historians for the rise and fall of nations and empires, there may still be many more causes embedded in the womb of Time, which elude his mental grasp, and which are nevertheless as strong and potent—if not stronger—as those which he is able to identify in their creation or destruction.

II. History becomes important for the fact that it constantly relates to the ebb and flow of human passions with which it deals. And the history of those nations is most important who have left monuments of great value and utility. The monuments which any nation or empire may leave to the succeeding generations may be either Physical or Intellectual, and the influences and reach of such empires seem to depend upon the extent to which they would be able to turn and mould the character of their

succeeding generations. Physical ruins are monuments which have their own value and which no doubt testify silently but eloquently to the grandeur of the hands which raised them into existence. But the influences of intellect are far deeper and more valuable than those of the material relics, and affect the generations which follow to a remarkable extent. Many empires have been forgotten because they have left behind them no traces of their Physical or Intellectual greatness. Mr. Robert Sewell, I. C. S., retired Collector of Bellary, unhappily selected the name "A Forgotten Empire"—Vijayanagar—for his valuable contribution of the history of the great empire of the Vijayanagara rulers, while in that excellent book he makes no attempt whatever to justify the use of the unlucky expression—Forgotten—attached to his book.

III. The empires founded by Greece and Rome are not forgotten, and can never be forgotten, although—perhaps at this distance of time—they may not be in a position to show vast ruins of fort walls, palaces, temples, and buildings of public utility. The intellectual stimulus that they were able to give to the contemporary and, succeeding generations, in sciences, arts and literature has produced such a deep impression upon their lives and character, that although Grecian and Roman empires have disappeared from the world's drama, their influences are still fresh and vigorous. The history of **Vijayanagar** could never be forgotten, for various reasons, which will be detailed further on, and I have deliberately selected the name "The Never To Be Forgotten Empire" for my work. History repeats itself. But this repetition may be in a desirable or undesirable form. Unexampled acts of barbarity are often repeated without reference to the state of civilisation or nationality. Unrivalled acts of generosity may be shown by those who are entrusted with power and means. Unbridled passions might show themselves, and do a world of mischief and loss. Unchecked

avarice may be shown by some sovereigns, while others may present acts of a most disinterested nature. Literature and sciences may be revived or disturbed. Greatest religious zeal, or the utmost laxity of morals, may prevail. Some events are destructive while others are constructive.

IV. In this repetition of history we have to see in what particular ways the empire of Vijayanagar distinguished itself, and to what extent the present nations of the world are indebted to its works, and the encouragement its enlightened rulers gave to the progress of civilisation, sciences, philosophy, and literature. The influences of empires may fall under any of the divisions sketched above and their values are judged by the succeeding generations by the effects they have produced upon them in social, political, moral, religious and literary matters.

V. The annals of the Vijayanagar empire may be classified under four principal divisions, each of which, on careful perusal, will be able to furnish rich intellectual food for contemplative minds of all times and nations. The present will be a brief but authentic history of the rise and fall of Vijayanagar, and the vast resources which its illustrious monarchs commanded at the time of their greatest elevation and power.

The divisions are:—

(1) Religious associations.
(2) Political performances.
(3) Social life and status.
(4) Literary merit and productions.

VI. Vijayanagar was the capital of the later Kings, but Anagondi seems to have been in existence long before the rise of Vijayanagar to the position of a capital city. In the earlier periods of history, Anagondi appears to have risen to considerable influence and power; and its Chiefs were men with resources whose help was sought even by the early

Mahomedan rulers. It would really be very interesting to collect facts, if available, which would throw fair light upon the origin, growth and development of this Principality and the relation its rulers bore to the **Rayas** of Vijayanagar, who later on, made such great conquests in the Middle Ages. An impenetrable gloom apparently envelopes the origin and growth of Vijayanagar, as it does, about the early history of so many other kingdoms, and the historian seeks in vain to present in a consecutive and reliable form, a story on which the critical readers can raise no objections as regards the correctness of their chronology and pedigree. It seems to be unreasonable to suppose that Anagondi was called into existence merely as a suburb of Vijayanagar, where they found ample space for keeping the large number of elephants the **Rayas** owned from time to time. Lost, as the correct annals of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, in the misty records of the earlier centuries, may be, still an attempt must be made to begin the dynasty with some well-known historical personage or ruler, and I shall here present, in as concise a form as possible, the various versions and traditions on which scholars have attempted to base a regular history of this mighty empire.

VII. The geographical position of Anagondi presents great facilities for purposes of military defence, and the early rulers, whoever they may have been, seem to have largely utilised these natural advantages, by erecting strong masonry fortifications on and around the series of rocky hills which surround this town. On the east and south Anagondi is defended by the Thungabhadra, and on the north and west, hills of considerable elevation encircle it, as if laid by Nature, for purposes of defence and protection. The passes in these rocky hills, when properly fortified and defended, would prove quite dangerous to the invading armies, and the numberless caves and crevices in these huge boulders, could afford ample room for the defenders of Anagondi to molest and cut off the

invading armies with the greatest ease and security. Anagondi was also the ancient **Kishkindha** of Vali, and since that time it seems to have been in the possession of powerful princes or chieftains. The **Rayas** of Vijayanagar were not unalive to these natural advantages, and they seem to have utilised them to the fullest extent by strengthening the already existing lines of fortifications and erecting formidable batteries on the commanding hill sides, from where, they could easily watch the movements of their enemies and cut off their communications. When the **Rayas** began their career of foreign conquest, they could not have selected a better place for their capital than Anagondi, which, lying in the midst of rocky and irregular hills of considerable elevation on the west and north, and the rocky-bedded river Thungabhadra on the east and south, would make a splendid place for purposes of defence when held even by a small garrison. But as these **Rayas** grew in power and importance, they found the extension of Anagondi, in the valleys among these hills, difficult and naturally pitched upon an equally secure place on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra, now identified and well-known as the **Magnificent Ruins** of Vijayanagar or Hampi.

VIII. This new city originally went under the name of Vijayanagar or Bijanagar, and was subsequently revived into still grander proportions by the Sage Vidyaranya after his own name of **Vidyanagara**. It grew rapidly in extent, wealth and magnificence, till it became one of the largest—if not the largest city—in the world. It attracted many foreign travellers by its fabulous stories and descriptions of wealth, splendour and power. It seems to have extended into one huge city of fortifications, palaces, water canals, temples, colleges, richly carved and decorated pavilions, bazaars, places of enjoyment, stables for elephants and horses, summer residences, smiling fruit gardens, council chambers, audience halls,

public courts and offices. From north to south, on both the banks of the Thungabhadra or from Basavapatnam to Nagalapur, the favourite residence of Krishna Deva Raya **(modern Hospet)** the extreme length of Vijayanagar was about 14 miles, while from east to west with the Thunga-bhadra in the middle, the extreme breadth was about 10 miles. This huge area, of about 140 square miles, was fully crowded with traders, consuls, ambassadors, military officers, wrestlers, singers, artisans, musicians, masons, dancers, smiths, priests, foreign adventurers, temple worshippers, engineers, trainers of horses and elephants, players of all descriptions, dancing girls and their numerous admirers and followers, poets and their pupils, bodyguards and palanquin bearers, manufacturers, workmen of all grades, Governors and Viceroys, and those vast crowds of humanity whose business was to pander to the tastes of the royalty and nobility and whose number alone would have given a very respectable population to any one of our modern flourishing cities. "The city is declared," says Mr. R. Sewell, "by a succession of European visitors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to have been mar-vellous for its size and prosperity,—a city with which for richness and magnificence no known Western Capital could compare." An idea of the immense population which this imperial city contained during the time of its greatest prosperity, cannot be easily formed unless we go through some of the details. **Nicolo,** an Italian travel-ler, who visited Vijayanagar in A. D. 1420, or 1421 thus begins his description:—"The great city of Bizengalia (Bijanagar) is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles—its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot—so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be 90,000 men fit to bear arms. . . . Their King is more powerful than all the other Kings of India. He takes to himself 12.000 wives."

IX. Abdur Razzak visited this city in A. D. 1443, and his description is graphic and interesting:—"The Prince of Bijanagar has in his dominions 300 ports, each of which is equal to Calicut and on **terra firma** his territories comprise a space of three months journey." This, by simple calculation of travelling 20 miles a day, multiplied by 90, the number of days, gives a distance of about 1,800 miles. From Cape Comorin to the extreme north of Orissa the distance approaches this figure, and there seems to be little exaggeration in Abdur Razzak's statement He was an ambassador from Persia and was received by the **Raya** with great courtesy. Continuing his description, Abdur Razzak says "One sees there more than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling mountains, and in their forms resembling devils. The troops amount in number to eleven lakhs (11,00,000). One might seek in vain, throughout the whole of Hindustan, to find a more absolute **Rai.** The city of Bijanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. . . . . . . By the King's palace are four bazaars placed opposite each other. On the north is the portico of the palace of the **Rai.** Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade, with a magnificent gallery, but the Audience Hall of the King's palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad. . . . Each class of men, belonging to each profession, has shops contiguous the one to the other. The jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the King's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. . . . This Empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without

entering into extensive details. In the King's palace are several cells like basins filled with bullion, forming one mass. . . . . Opposite the Devankhana is the house of elephants. Each elephant has a separate compartment, the walls of which are extremely solid and the roof composed of strong pieces of wood. . . . Opposite the mint is the house of the Governor, where are stationed 12,000 guards. . ." Abdur Razzak was the spectator of a grand festival, and he describes it thus:—"In pursuance of orders issued by the King of Bijanagar, the general and principal personages from all parts of his Empire presented themselves at the palace. They brought with them 1,000 elephants which were covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned. . . . . . Over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions to the height of three, four, or even five stories covered from top to bottom with figures in relief. Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face. At each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view . . . . . . In the front of this place rose a palace with nine pavilions, magnificently ornamented. In the ninth the King's throne was set up. The throne, which was of extraordinary size, was made of gold and enriched with precious stones of extreme value . . . . . . I was introduced into the middle of four **estrudes** which were about ten *ghuz* both in length and breadth (about 30 feet square). The roof and the walls were entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious stones. Each of these plates was as thick as the blade of a sword and was fastened with golden nails."

X. Nuniz, a Portuguese traveller, remarks:—"Krishna Deva Raya marched to the seige and battle of Raichur with 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse and 551 elephants." Paes, another Portuguese traveller, who was present at the Court of Krishna Deva Raya, significantly observes:—"Now I

desire you to know that this King has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour. All these are in his pay and he has these troops always ready to be despatched to any quarter, whenever such may be necessary. I saw, being in this city of Bisanga (Bijanagar) the King despatch a force against a place, one of those he has by the sea-coast, and sent 50 captains with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry . . . . when the King wishes to show the strength of his power to any of the adversaries . . . . . they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers, in consequence of which he is the most feared King of any in these parts . . . . . although he takes away so many men from his kingdom, it must not be thought that the kingdom remains devoid of men. It is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken a man . . . . Some of his captains have a million and a million and a half **paradas** (pagodas). The King fixes for them the number of troops they must maintain in foot, horse and elephants—these troops are always ready for duty whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready." Paes apparently was present at a grand review of troops held by Krishna Deva Raya, and his remarks carry great weight as regards the efficiency of this Emperor's army. He says, "In this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that could act the coward." He further says that the King "keeps near him 12,000 women."

XI. Duarte Barbosa, who visited the kingdom of Vijayanagar between 1509 and 1514 and who was present at the great city, describes it thus:—"It is very populous—the King has in this place very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts—there are also in this city many other palaces of great lords . . . . . and the streets and squares are very wide—they are constantly filled with an

innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds—there is an infinite trade in this city . . . . The King keeps at all times 900 elephants, and more than 20,000 horse . . . . The King has more than 100,000 men—both horse and foot to whom he gives pay." Nuniz says that the "King had continually—in the capital—50,000 paid soldiers, amongst whom are 6,000 horsemen, who belong to the Palace guard. He has also 20,000 spearmen and shield-bearers and 3,000 men to look after the elephants in the stables. He has 1,600 grooms who attend to his horses and has also 300 horse trainers, and 2,000 artificers. . . . . There are always at the Court where the King is 20,000 litters and palanquins."

Cesar Frederic, the medieval traveller, says "that he had seen many courts, but never anything to compare with it." In Ferishta's "Mahomedan Power in Southern India" Vol. II., p. 338, he significantly observes "the ancestors of Krishna Deva Raya had possessed this kingdom for 700 years. During this period the treasure they accumulated was so great as to equal those of all the Kings of the earth."

Castanheda visited India just at the close of Krishna Deva Raya's reign (about 1529), and states "that the Infantry of Vijayanagara were countless. . . . . that the country was thickly populated, and that the King kept up at his own cost an establishment of 100,000 horses and 4,000 elephants." An idea of the immense population which this imperial city contained during the time of its greatest prosperity cannot be adequately formed without going through some of the above details.

XII. The Rayas seem to have kept in the city itself for its immediate purposes of defence and protection 100,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and about 4,000 elephants, with a suitable number of guns and artillery officers. The king's special bodyguard consisted of 6,000 well trained,

well-mounted and richly-dressed horsemen. There were about 1,000 horses in the Royal stables for the Raya's personal use. About 12,000 maid-servants, well dressed and wearing costly ornaments, attended upon the Royal ladies in the palaces. Two thousand artisans, smiths washermen and workers were permanently attached to the palace establishment to look after the palace work and necessary repairs. Numberless male servants had their allotted work in and around the palace precincts. About 200 cooks were on the list of the King's personal establishment. Twenty thousand dancing women accompanied the camp of Krishna Deva Raya when he laid seige to Raichore. Their number must certainly have been double or treble that figure in the city proper. About 200 Governors, Viceroys, Military Commandants, and their representatives were in the city from different parts of the Empire, and their retainers, bodyguards, troops, camp followers, and other menial servants must certainly have been more than 100,000 souls. There were a large number of torch-bearers, as each noble had to be preceded by five, seven, nine or eleven men while the King employed 100 or 150 to go before him. A military population of 150,000 men in the capital meant at least treble that number of grooms, grass-cutters, ferriers, retainers, servants, and members of their families. The colleges contained the best literary men of the age from the different parts of India, and they were teemed with students eager to learn and more eager to earn money. Great facilities seem to have been afforded by the Rayas of Vijayanagar for trading purposes, and the exports and the imports of this imperial city were on a correspondingly large scale. The trading population must have been simply immense as the style of living in the royal city was luxurious to a degree which can hardly be conceived by the readers at this distance of time. It is alleged on good authority, that there were 4,000 large, well-built and important temples in the city, and what must have

been the number of the smaller fanes which were erected to satisfy the religious faith of this huge population? There were 20,000 palanquins and litters always ready with the King, and the number of their bearers must have been more than 200,000 people. If the palace staff alone exceeded more than 50,000 souls, the number of their families, children, relations and dependents must have come up to a very respectable total. When the Rayas of Vijayanagar were able to despatch at a moment's notice 100 or 200,000 troops from their capital, either to reinforce a hard pressed garrison, or to help a fighting commander in some distant part of their empire, the floating military population must have been certainly more than what we have modestly put down in the great city. Arts, sciences and literature were liberally encouraged by the Rayas and this must have induced numberless batches of able workmen from different parts of the world to collect in the imperial city to make their fortunes. Making similar attempts to calculate the population of this grand city, 30,00,000 **(thirty lacs)** would not be considered as an exaggerated figure to represent the huge population which was contained within the city proper and its immediate suburbs. All foreign travellers testify to the fact, that they found enormous wealth in the city and that the display of jewels was simply dazzling and unrivalled. Very few modern cities could make such a display of wealth and power, as Vijayanagar was able to do, during its period of glory and splendour. The history of that empire, whose capital was so grand and wealthy, and whose rulers were so powerful, generous and great, cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to any reader ignorant or educated, European or Native.

XIII. For nearly three centuries the city of Vijayanagar grew rapidly in wealth and importance, and was talked of, as the most splendid city in the world, by all those who had the fortune to visit it personally. It was

sacked by the four combined armies of the Mahomedan conquerors after the defeat of the Rayas in the memorable battle of Talikota in A. D. 1565. The scenes which followed the sacking of this royal city were most heart-rending and painful to read. All the important buildings were demolished or burnt, and the whole city was plundered for five months. "They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the palaces and temples, and wrecked such savage vengeance on the abode of the Kings, that with the exception of a few great stone built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood . . . They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platforms from which the Kings used to watch the festivals and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings and smashed their exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes they carried on, day after day, their work of destruction. Never perhaps, in the history of the world, has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly on so splendid a city." The plunder must have been simply incalculable and the mischief this city had suffered at the hands of its savage Mahomedan conquerors, was never repaired. "The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves." The treasure in the city seems to have been simply fabulous. After the defeat of the Vijayanagara army, in the battle of Talikota, some of the dispirited soldiers hurried back from the flight and amongst them foremost were the panic stricken Princes of the Royal house. "Within a few hours these craven Chiefs hastily left the palace, carrying with them all the treasures on which they could lay their hands. Five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasures in gold, diamonds, and precious stones, valued at more than 100,000,000 sterling, and carrying the **State Insignia** and the

celebrated jewelled throne of the Kings, left the city under convoy of bodies of soldiers who remained true to the Crown."

XIV. The enemy came on the third day to destroy and they carried out "their work of destruction most relentlessly." "Hordes of Brinjaris, Lumbanes and Kurubas from the neighbourhood pounced upon the hapless city and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches" and the conquerors looted the remaining stores without conscience or scruples. The "Magnificent ruins of Hampi," as they are called to-day, by the travellers, seem apparently to be the ruins of the most insignificant buildings which have been spared to posterity by the destructive hands of their Mahomedan conquerors. Time has also wrought its own vengeance—and if these remains after the lapse and neglect of five centuries—appear to-day as grand and imposing—what should have been the splendour of the city when it was the capital of a living empire and graced by the Courts of its powerful monarchs, whose resources were inexhaustible, whose powerful armies were dreaded all over India, and whose jewelled thrones were dazzling and unrivalled? The present buildings must have been left alone by the fierce Mahomedan conquerors apparently on account of their utter insignificance? in comparison with the grand edifices which they destroyed with "terrible race vengeance, and irresistible iconoclastic principles to leave no traces of their implacable enemies?" But what remain now in the shape of broken palaces, dilapidated temples, shattered foundations, fallen underground structures and crumbling fort walls, appeal most eloquently in their deadly silence, to the greatness and magnificence of this capital as well as the mighty power and incalculable treasures which its rulers commanded?

XV. But this was also the ancient **Kishkindha,** the powerful capital of the mighty warrior **Vali,** who squeezed

the dreaded giant, Ravana, under his armpits as if the **Rakshasa** was a small bird or insect and whose military prowess was fully recognised as invincible by the most powerful of his contemporary rulers. There are no ruins to mark his rule or the rule of his successors, except a high mound of bony-like substance,—about a mile to the east of Anagondi, on the other side of the river Thungabhadra—supposed to have been his fallen body after he was killed by Ramá. It must certainly have been of terrible proportion in the earlier ages, as every traveller digs a bit of it and takes it away as a specimen of curiosity. This still goes under the name of Vali Kasta **(the corpse of Vali)**. Two huge boulders, placed one upon the other horizontally, near the temple of Gavi Ranganatha, about a mile to the west of Anagondi, are pointed out as the "**Vali Bhandara**" or the treasure house of Vali. I went, with the present Raja of Anagondi, Srimant Sri Runga Deva Rayalu, to the top of the hill in which **Vali Bhandara** is supposed to contain. A strong masonry gate on the eastern side of the hill surmounted by two high towers on either side, leads to the ruins of an apparently very old palace. The whole of the hill top is covered with strong cemented flooring, here and there dug out by those who went in search after wealth. On the western side of this building, there are also two lines of strong fortifications leading to the famous **Pampasarovar**, The whole looks as if the Rayas of Vijayanagar had the secret of the buried treasure in their hands, and they took care to specially fortify it and hide it from the public gaze. What gives strong colour to these local legends and traditions of concealed treasure there, is the existence of concreted and strongly cemented flooring all over the hill top, as if it was specially designed to keep off rain water, from the underground rooms. But, what these underground rooms—if there are really any—may contain, nobody is in a position to say definitely. The

description of Kishkindha, as given out in the Ramayana, tallies splendidly with what a traveller finds here. Long centuries have passed away since the time of Ramayana and there have been great seismic changes, with corresponding changes in the surrounding scenery, but if a scholar studies carefully over the scenes described by Valmiki in the Ramayana, takes notes of them, keeps a plan as given therein and walks or sails in a boat along the banks of the Thungabhadra, from about 3 miles west of the present temple of Hampi down to about 4 miles north of Anagondi, he will be able to realize that he is really treading upon the sacred regions which were once honored by the footsteps of the immortal heroes of the Ramayana. **Anjanaparvata** rises abruptly with a sublime scenic effect over the bed of the river—here the river Thungabhadra runs most picturesquely between chains of rocky hills—as a person sails on it in a boat against the current or from east to west; and **Malyavantha, Mathanga** and **Russya Mukha** are admirably situated in their proper places as located in that lovely epic.

XVI. **Pampasarovar** (*lake*) is described both as a river and a lake in the Ramayana, and some have raised difficulties on this account as to the identity of the site of ancient Kishkindha. These difficulties seem more visionary than real if a careful examination is made of facts as they are. Rivers have general, as well as special, or local names, and according to the theory of the Hindus, they are not sacred all along their courses as they are in some particular spots. The Ganges has greater sanctity in Hardwar, Allahabad and Benares, than at other places on its banks and even in these places there are particular centres or ghauts which are considered more holy than others. Lakes are often named after the rivers by whom they are formed, or bestow their names upon the rivers when they touch them or take their rise from them. A simple illustration will explain clearly what is meant here. A man bathes

in **Manikarnika** It is a ghaut on the left bank of the Ganges, and there is a small pond on this bank in which a devotee is required to bathe after he bathes in the Ganges, to secure his full share of the religious merit. Here, the person will be true when he says, in one place, that he bathed in a lake and in another place that he bathed in the river Ganges. These ponds or lakes are fed by the rivers and this fact is supposed to add considerable value to the sanctity attached to them by the Hindu religious codes.

During the period of Ramayana, **Pampasarovar** must have been a very interesting and picturesquely situated lake, constantly fed by the Thungabhadra. Its present position justifies the inference, that it was fed by the river when it was in high flood or that it formed a part of it. The name of this river may have been Pampa in the olden days and higher up in its source, the river may have had altogether a different appellation. That rivers have several names in their courses, is well evidenced in the case of Brahmaputra. It is called **Sanpoo** in its early course, and Brahmaputra, after it cuts its passage through the Himalayas and takes its south-western course till it joins the Ganges and loses its name altogether. Later travels or conventionalities may have induced people to call this river **Thungabhadra**, as the two rivers Thunga and Bhadra join at **Kudli** (junction) in Shimoga District, Mysore Province. Taraparvata is about a mile to the north of Anagondi and furnishes various interesting local legends which I shall explain in the Appendix to this volume. It is stated by some people that there are some large caves and openings in these series of rocky hills, which lead to some very curious places, and that Taraparvata has some openings into its underground structures which are known to very few of the living people. These are stated here for what they are worth and the readers may use their own discretion in their

beliefs concerning them. Pampa Virupaksha, in the present temple of Hampi, seems to have been a very old god, honcred even by the heroes of Ramayana. Rama killed Vali here, entered into friendship with Sugreeva, his warlike brother, got acquainted with the celebrated Anjanaya—who was so very useful to him in his war with Ravana,—received the worship of Sabari in the caves at Pampa, and went on his conquering expedition to Lanka after he learnt of Sita's captivity with the Ruler of Lanka, through his faithful servant Hanuman. There are other lakes called Sita Sarovar, Manasa Sarovar, and Ashramas, honoured by the names of Vasista, Mathanga, Vyasa Bharadvaja, and Vidyaranya. The present Raja of Anagondi assured me that there are wonderful caves and hiding-places in these rocky hills surrounding the holy places and that thousands of people can easily conceal themselves without fear of detection. The place is, therefore, of great antiquity, and is extremely rich in religious, historical and literary associations.

XVII. In literary activity and productions, Vijayanagara seems to have been most wonderfully fertile. The great sage **Madhavacharya**—Sayana Vidyaranya—the illustrious commentator of the four Vedas, lived on the banks of the Thungabhadra in Hampi—the Canarese name for the Sanskrit Pampa, and conferred upon the succeeding generations, the greatest literary boon which, one single scholar, could ever hope to do, to the cultured humanity. He also guided the political affairs of the Vijayanagar Empire for a long time and revived and rebuilt the capital city in grander proportions after his own name of Vidyanagara. From an inscription which this literary giant has left in one of the temples at Hampi, the year of this revival is made out as 1258 Saka (Salivahana) or about A.D. 1336. The inscription runs as follows.—*Nagashwarkay Namita Nrupay Salivahasyayata, Daturyabda,*"=(Naga is 8, Ishu is 5, and Arka is 12 or 1258 Salivahana Saka.) Vijayanagara, therefore, must have

been in existence as a grand city even before A. D. 1336 and its rulers were powerful enough to attract notice from the Mahomedan conquerors of the North. Vidyaranya, besides the immortal gift of **Veda Bhashyas,** has given the world, excellent works on medicine, Dharmasastras, astronomy, politics, war and other useful arts and sciences, and it is alleged by competent Pundits in India that, of the whole lot of Indian sages and philosophical writers, he alone deserved to assume the title of **Sarvagnyassahi Madhava** *i.e.,* Vidyaranya was all knowing and learned. His name implies "wilderness of learning." The revival of Telugu literature in a grander and more original form was due to the liberal encouragement the Rayas of Vijayanagara gave to the Telugu and Sanskrit scholars of their time. Krishna Deva Raya, was one of the greatest Telugu writers, and in the midst of his numerous conquests, military organizations, works of irrigation, construction of places of worship, responsibilities of civil and revenue administration, this King found time, not only to collect the best Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese Pundits, from all parts of India, in his Court, but also to write himself works of great literary merit and excellence. His fine literary taste and ability are clearly shown in his valuable poem entitled "**Amukta Malyada.**" **Andra Prabandha** began during his time, and the famous **Manucharitra** was composed by Allasani Peddana, and dedicated to this royal poet and warrior. **Vasucharitra, Parijutapaharana,** and **Panduranga Mahatmya** were the productions of poets who were patronised by the Rayas of Vijayanagar, and the Sanskrit literature received a strong stimulus by the encouragement its pundits had at the hands of these Rayas. The rulers of Vijayanagara were thoroughly tolerant and encouraged by their liberal patronage and gifts, arts, sciences and literature.

The greatest of the Vijayanagara Emperors was Krishna Deva Raya, and his name is fondly cherished even today,

in the whole of Southern India. His conquests were rapid and splendid, and he administered justice with grace, ability and tact. The Empire of Vijayanagara had reached its greatest extent during his reign. He has been called the **Andra Bhoja** of the modern times; and he appears to have been a man of wonderful military, administrative and literary talents. He built many towns and forts, erected bridges and dams, constructed temples and places of worship, and protected his people with a singular popularity and kindness such as very few emperors of the world could show to their credit.

XVIII. The name Anagondi seems to suggest that it was formerly in existence as **Angadi** or the city of Angada, the powerful son of Vali. But in later days, the people might have been easily induced to change **Angadi** into **Anagondi,** as it was mostly used for keeping the large number of elephants the Rayas of Vijayanagar owned from time to time. The want of *Na* was cleverly supplied and the people made it to appear as *Ana*, elephant, and *gondi*, a lane or street for keeping them. I do not however attach much importance to these philological quibbles, beyond that it is a mere guess of mine and I leave the readers of this volume to draw their own inferences. Hard cemented floorings all round the present town of Anagondi, of extraordinary strength and tenacity, make clear the fact that it was in existence as the capital of a powerful line of Chiefs, that they had erected grand buildings in it, and that they ruled extensive territories and commanded inexhaustible treasures long before the rise of Vijayanagar as the capital ofa successful dynasty of later Hindu rulers.

XIX. The Introduction gives the readers of this work an idea of the importance of this Empire and the splendid capital it contained. Much valuable and authentic information has been condensed and given in the following chapters, and the history of Vijayanagara, therefore,

cannot fail to be highly interesting and instructive. I make no apology in presenting this volume for the kind acceptance of the educated classes, and I sincerely trust, that its absorbing interest will secure their indulgent perusal.

B. SURYANARAIN ROW, B.A., M.R.A.S.

ANAGONDI,
15th *November*, 1904.

THE

Never To Be Forgotten Empire

"Vijayanagar."

CHAPTER I.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The annals of Vijayanagar are very interesting. They are based upon various sources of information which will be detailed in this chapter. Many people confound this great empire with the small State and town of Vijianagaram in the district of Vizagapatam, Madras Presidency.*

Dropping, therefore, the name of this little State and its rulers altogether out of our account, we shall proceed to sketch the history of the greatest empire in Southern India, *viz.*, that of Bijanagar or Vijayanagar—also called Vidyanagar—and the powerful princes who ruled over its extensive territories, and who were strong bulwarks against the subjugation of Southern India by the irresistible Mahomedan Powers for over three centuries. The sources of information for my historical sketch may be briefly classified under the following heads:—

(1) Records, documents and references found with the present Raja of Anagondi, who is directly descended from those powerful monarchs in the female line, and who rules over Anagondi and draws a British political pension.

* There is a Zemindar there called the Maharaja of Vijianagaram, but its Chiefs never attained to any real independent political position, and they played only insignificant parts in the wars of the South Indian Dynasties.

(2) Traditions, legends and popular stories, current in the whole of Southern India, and largely believed in, even by the intelligent public.

(3) Writings of the different, earlier, contemporary and later travellers and visitors to the court of Vijayanagar, who saw what they described, or who had the best opportunities of collecting facts from those who were competent to give information or who found access to valuable state documents or records.

(4) Stone inscriptions found in temples, villages, towns, cities and other public or private places, which record the grants or gifts of the Rayas of Vijayanagar, and which contain detailed descriptions of their pedigrees, conquests and other useful information concerning their work and resources.

(5) References made to the rulers of Vijayanagar in contemporary, literary or scentific works, and the details which may be inferred or gathered by their careful study and comparison.

(6) Villages, towns, cities, temples, anicuts, tanks, water-canals, bridges, forts, palaces, and other public or private buildings which were erected by the Rayas of Vijayanagar or under their directions, and from which we can safely draw certain inferences, as regards the time and power of the sovereigns who raised them into existence.

(7) Copper-plate grants of the Vijayanagar rulers which are in the possession of the Government or private individuals.

(8) References to these Rayas of Vijayanagar and their work, in the histories of the contemporary or later kingdoms.

(9) Coins, seals and other instruments belonging to the periods of the Vijayanagar sovereigns, which unmistakably bear evidence to their work and existence.

(10) Researches of the scholars in the fields of excavation and archæology, which have brought to light many events of great historical value.

It would be out of place here, to deeply enter into the details of these sources of information, and then base the present history on the arguments thus adduced. If I did so, the bulk of this volume would be undesirably increased, and it would certainly defeat the clear object with which I have undertaken to write a short history of this great and interesting empire. It would also puzzle the readers by references and counter-references, which I would be compelled to quote, to support my arguments, were I to make an attempt in that direction. There are some valuable books in that line published by competent scholars and I would specially refer my readers to them for more elaborate information on these matters. I have carefully gone through the various sources of information suggested in the preceding paragraphs, and this sketch of mine, therefore, is the result of my labours in collecting, collating, comparing and condensing all the available facts bearing on the history of Vijayanagar and its warlike monarchs, who raised it to the position of the greatest Hindu empire in modern times.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF ANAGONDI.

THE PARENT CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR.

It often happens that a successful nation will find it difficult to trace correctly its own origin, development, and the causes which raised it to greatness and power. The analyses of the causes for the rise of great empires will generally be the work of later historians. The Kings of Vijayanagar claim their descent from the Lunar Dynasties, and therefore, they must have been, in some way, related to

the great heroes of the Mahabharata. The direct pedigree of these princes is given in the Appendix to this volume. As regards the correctness of the pedigree and how far it should be believed, I leave the intelligent readers to use their own judgment, and draw their own inferences. Krishna Deva Raya—the greatest of the Vijayanagar rulers—speaks distinctly in his **Aumukta Malyada** about his descent from the Chandra Vamsa; and many of the *Sasanas* or inscriptions contain references to the same tune. As yet, writers on Vijayanagar and its rulers have had very scanty information to guide them in their labours, and the large number of inscriptions collected by the Government are so very contradictory and confusing in their references to dates and pedigrees, that it becomes extremely difficult for a logical mind, to spin out from them, anything like a consistent history of that interesting empire. Many inferences drawn from such a mass of confusing evidence are open to question, and the readers, therefore, cannot be placed in a safer position, than the compilers of these histories themselves. Making the best guesses possible, and comparing all the sources of information available on the subject, the following may be taken at present, as a correct history until the inferences, drawn here, are contradicted or are otherwise overthrown by more substantial evidence, by the discovery of undisputed inscriptions and other references in the contemporary writers or travellers. Ferishta remarks that the "Chiefs of Anagondi had existed as a ruling family for seven hundred years prior to the year A.D. 1350."

Ferñao Nuniz, the Portuguese traveller, who wrote his "Summary of the Chronicles of the Kings of Bisanga" **(Vijayanagar)** and who was present in the court of Achuyta Raya, the immediate successor of Krishna Deva Raya, (about the year A.D. 1536), says that in A.D. 1230 the King of Delhi made war on the King of Bisanga, whose capital

was Nagundyam (Anagondi), which was strongly fortified. As the King of Delhi brought a very large army, the Chief of Anagondi "seeing his great power and how many troops he had brought with him, determined to abandon the city, which was very difficult to enter." The King of Anagondi "fled for shelter to a fortress called 'Crynmata' which was by the bank of the river." Out of the 50,000 troops the King of Anagondi had with him in the town, he selected only 5,000 men—the best in the army under him, and with them "took refuge in the fortress."*

"The King of Delhi," continues Nuniz, "had already up to this time been at war with him for twelve years." The Chief of Anagondi and his chosen band of brave warriors determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and seeing the hopelessness of their cause against the

* It is difficult to identify any place now in Anagondi with this term "Crynmata" as no fortress there has a name which corresponds with the expression the Portuguese traveller has given. There are two lines of fortifications on the sides of the hills to the west of Anagondi, and they are called "Chinnamagota" and "Peddamagota," respectively. The terms **Chinna** and **Pedda** mean in Telugu small and large, respectively, and **Magota** means in the same tongue, the fortress on the upper side of a hill. Chinnamagota is the fortress on the top of a rocky hill to the west of Anagondi and is strongly fortified. Peddamagota is the fortress on the lower side of the hill, which is equally strong. I have carefully examined these places with the Raja of Anagondi. Even now, they say that large quantities of old gunpowder and cannon balls are found as well as some rotten foodstuffs in those fortresses. In some of the caves, I saw very large quantities of human bones. Nuniz apparently refers to "Chinnamagota" which can easily be converted by the Portuguese traveller into "Crynmata." In the fortress on the hill top, there are many ruins of houses and buildings. Peddamagota is the lower and the larger fortress and the two together must have been considered as very formidable for the invading armies to capture. There is room enough for five thousand or even a larger number of troops to be garrisoned there, and besides the river, which is just close to the fortress on the other side of the fort walls, there is ample provision of water made for the besieged garrison.

"Crynmata" may also refer to the fortress, and the old palace containing the Vali Bhandara or the treasure of Vali, a description of which has already been given by me in the Introduction to this history.

immense number of troops which besieged the fortress and their resolution to capture it at any cost, they cut off the heads of their wives and children, sallied out of the fortress and fought desperately till every one of them was killed, except six old men who had taken refuge in a dilapidated building. These were captured and made prisoners; one of them was the minister of the King of Anagondi, another was his treasurer, and the other four were his principal officers. "The body of the King, at the request of those six men, was conveyed very honourably to the city of Anagondi . . . . , and they still worship this King as a saint." After the usual plundering, killing and subduing the people, the King of Delhi stayed two years in this fortress. He was five hundred leagues away from his capital, his forces were all scattered, and news came to him that all the land, he had first gained, had rebelled against him. He collected his people, and "leaving in this fortress, which was the strongest in the kingdom, abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances, and appointing as its governor Enibiquymelly—a Moor—with a sufficient number of troops," he left Anagondi for good. The news of the return of the King of Delhi spread rapidly all over the country, and people "who had escaped to the mountains, with others, who, against their will and through fear, had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages, rose against the captain Meliquyneby and besieged him in the fortress, cutting off his communications and provisions." This captain saw at once his desperate situation and the difficulties which were in the way of getting early succour from his lord and sent a special messenger to his master at Delhi apprising him of all these facts. When the "King heard this news he took council" and asked his wise men, as to what he should do. In the assembly the King of Delhi, convened for taking advice, he asked thus:—"What was it seemed best to them, and what in such case ought they, and could

they do, so that he should not lose so fair a territory and one so rich, the seizure of which had cost him such labour, so much money and the lives of so many of their fellows? All the councillors decided that the King should command the presence of the six men, whom he held captive, and that he should learn from them who was at that time the nearest of kin, or in any way related to the Kings of Bisanga; and this questioning done, no one was found to whom, by right, the kingdom could come, save to one of the six whom he held captive, and this one he, who at the time of destruction of Bisanga, had been minister of that kingdom. He was not related by blood to the Kings . . . . At once the six captives were released and set at liberty . . . . and the governor was raised to be King and the treasurer to be governor, and he took from them oaths and pledges of fealty as vassals, and they were at once despatched and sent to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. And when these six men had thus finished their journey to the city of Nagundy (Anagondi) they found only the ruined basements of the houses and places peopled by a few poor folk." This minister, who was raised to the position of a King, was called Devarao, and "all those who have reigned up to now," says Nuniz, "have descended from this man."*

He was cheerfully obeyed as a King by the nobles and the people, as they had hated bitterly their subjection to a ruler of a foreign faith. The welcome to this minister was doubly secure and sincere. "The King Devarao entering on his rule, strove to pacify the people, and those who had revolted and to make them safe, and he did them many

* The Portuguese traveller is not here quite correct. The dynasty established by the Brahmin sage Madhavacharya (**Vidyaranya**) ruled for over a century, and its last ruler was Virupakshi Raya, who was overthrown by Narasimha Deva Raya, the founder of a new dynasty, tracing their descent from Turvasu or Oorvasu. The first dynasty set up by Vidyaranya, was called the Bukka Dynasty, and they were supposed to have been Yadavas.

kindnesses so as to secure their goodwill and travelled about their fortresses and towns. He abandoned the lost lands, since he knew that he could not regain them, having no army or forces for such a work, nor any cause for which he could make any war, and also because he was very old." Nuniz continues his story of which I shall here give an abstract:—King Devarao went one day to hunt in the jungles on the south side of the Thungabhadra, where now stand the ruins of the city of Vijayanagar, and in the course of hunting he saw the strange phenomenon of a hare flying at the dogs he had with him and biting every one of them, so that, those dogs which had caught for him a tiger and a lion in hunting, were now afraid of the hare and they would not go against it. This struck the King as most strange and supernatural. When he was returning from this strange spectacle of a hare biting the dogs, he met a hermit on the bank of the river, to whom he related this wonderful event. Madhavacharya, for he it was, asked the King to show him the spot where this prodigy was witnessed, and they both went to see it. The sage saw the spot with the King and told him to erect his palace and forts, and foretold, that when the King did so, the city would become the strongest, the wealthiest and the most powerful in the world. Devarao lost no time at such an auspicious hint being carried out, and built the city, peopled it and called it "Vidyajanu" after the honored name of the sage, who bade him build it. The King was old and did nothing more worthy of record during his reign of seven years.

Deorao was succeeded by his son Bucarao, and according to Nuniz, he was a powerful King, who ruled ably for 37 years, subdued all the lords and vassals who had revolted against the Kings of Vijayanagar, and conquered many countries, including the important kingdom of Oriya "which bordered on Bengalla." Here I must draw the attention of the readers to several important points, which

require some explanation as they go to prove or disprove certain theories, on which scholars have attempted to base a regular history of this powerful empire. Nuniz distinctly says that in the year A.D. 1230, a powerful monarch ruled in Delhi and he invaded Nagundyam. Mr. R. Sewell in his "Forgotten Empire," considers that "this date" given by Nuniz "is a century too early" as the sovereign he refers to is Togo Mamede or Mahomed Toglak.*

The inscription found in one of the temples at Hampi left by the sage Vidyaranya, has already been partly quoted by me in the Introduction to this work, but I shall quote it here in full to make clear these doubtful points on which scholars are spending so much time and labour.

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* It is possible that Nuniz may have put this date a century too early. But at the same time it must be remembered, that he was a Portuguese traveller of great intelligence, who was present in the court of Achuyta Raya at Vijayanagar, who made keen observation of what he saw, read, and heard, and who, naturally, would have had the best opportunities of consulting the State documents on such important questions, as the dates of succession and death of important sovereigns and capture of cities. I do not exactly know how the Portuguese figures are marked, but if they have got any resemblance to the English figures, then it is possible to think that instead of putting 1320, he might have changed by carelessness or oversight the second figure "3" into "2" and put the third figure "2" in the second place—thus making 1320 appear as 1230. If this guess is correct, then it would splendidly fit into the general thread of his narration and remove the confusion of the readers of this history. If Nuniz really meant 1320, then Mahomed Toglak waged war—according to his statement—for twelve years against the King of Anagondi. This would bring up the date to A.D. 1332. We have further the statement of Nuniz to the effect that Mahomed Toglak remained two years in the fortress of Nagundyam. This would bring the date to A.D. 1334. So that Mahomed Toglak left Anagondi in A.D. 1334 for Delhi, leaving a governor there by name Mallick Niby, who was soon beseiged by the people in the fortress, when they heard of Mahomed Toglak's departure for Delhi. They compelled the Moorish governor to vacate the place, and restore their own man as King of their country. The appointment of the old minister of the former King of Anagondi, as King and ruler of Anagondi, must have taken place in A.D. 1335, and we have the great Madhavacharya, reviving the city of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1336, Saka Salivahana 1258 in the year Dhatu. This, if true, tallies with the dates given in the inscription relating to the founding of the city of Vidyanagar.

The issues involved are highly interesting and require clear explanations before they can be accepted.

The inscription referred to runs as follows:—"**Nagashwarkay, Namitasakay Salivahasayayata, Dhaturyabday, Sugunasahitay Masa Visaki Namry Suklay Pakshay Suraguruyutay Soumya Varay Sulagnay Saptamyam Sri Vijayanagaray Nirmamay Nerinamandra.**" It may be thus interpreted:—"On Wednesday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Visakha, in the year Dhatu, Salivahana Saka 1258, in an auspicious time with Guru (Jupiter) in the rising sign (Lagna) I, the prince of ascetics, have constructed this city in Vijayanagar." On calculation, it has been found that the year Dhatu agrees with Saka 1258. This will be the year A.D. 1336. Nuniz says that the King of Nagundyam was already at war with the King of Delhi for 12 years. This, I believe, has to be interpreted to mean, that in the wars, which the Kings of Delhi waged against the princes in the Deccan, the King or Chief of Anagondi, seems to have taken some part, which must naturally have given cause for offence to his powerful enemy. It is difficult to reconcile the dates given by Nuniz with those found in the inscriptions and quoted by Mr. Sewell. I have carefully examined the records, found in the possession of the present Raja of Anagondi, and I shall give here, a brief extract of the line of Kings from the "Raya Vamsavali" who ruled in Anagondi in the earlier periods of history, so that they may be compared with those which have already been quoted above from other writers. Omitting the names of older monarchs, with whose doubtful pedigree we are not at present very much concerned, I shall commence with Nanda Maharaja, who is said to have ruled in Kishkindha (Anagondi) from Saka 936 Ananda to Saka 998 Nala or from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1076, about 63 years. He seems to have ruled over an extensive territory, and accumulated large quantities of wealth. His son Chalukya Maharaja ruled from Saka 998 Nala to Saka 1039 Vilambi

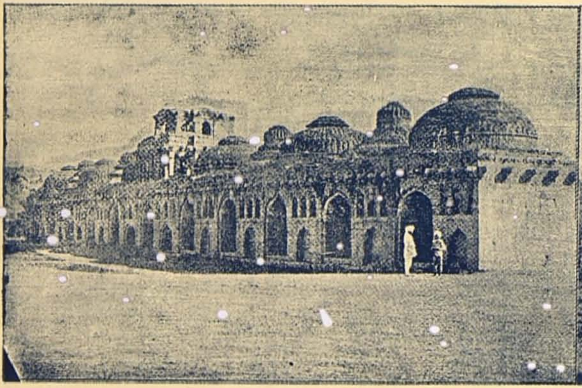
or from A.D. 1076 to A.D. 1117. He was also a powerful prince and ruled prosperously at Anagondi. He had three sons: (1) Bijjala Maharaja, who went to Kalyanapura and established there a separate dynasty of Kings; (2) Vijayadhwaja, who succeeded his father Chalukya, and ruled in Anagondi from Saka 1039 Vilambi to Saka 1078 Dhatu or from A.D. 1117 to A.D. 1156 for a period of 39 years. The third son of Chalukya was called Vishnuvardhana, and there is no further reference in this "Vamsavali," about the rule or career of this prince. References to inscriptions collected and published by Messrs. Fleet, Burnell, Sewell, Rice and Mackenzie, show that grants have been made in the name of Vishnu Varadhana about this period. In a stone inscription at Undavalle, near Bezwada, Vishnuvardhana has made a grant in A.D. 1135. Inscriptions relating to the seige of Hangal speak of King Vishnuvardhana as wresting from the Kadambas in A.D. 1135, the provinces of Banavasi and Hangal. In A.D. 1135 we have also a repetition of Vishnuvardhana's conquests in Mr. Rice's collection of inscriptions. Leaving our readers to make use of these facts as they like, we have now to explain what Vijayadhwaja did at Anagondi. Vijiadhwaja, as has already been stated, succeeded his father Chalukya, and ruled in Kishkindha from Saka 1039 Vilambi to Saka 1078 Dhatu or from A.D. 1117 to A.D. 1156. During this time be built the new city of Vijayanagar on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra, and strengthened it by fortifications round the series of hills which encircle that city.*

He ruled for 39 years and seems to have been a powerful monarch. The city grew in importance and wealth and we may also infer that as Anagondi was on the northern bank of the Thungabhadra on the extreme north of the territory of Anagondi and therefore contiguous to the powerful Mahomedan countries, the King wisely thought

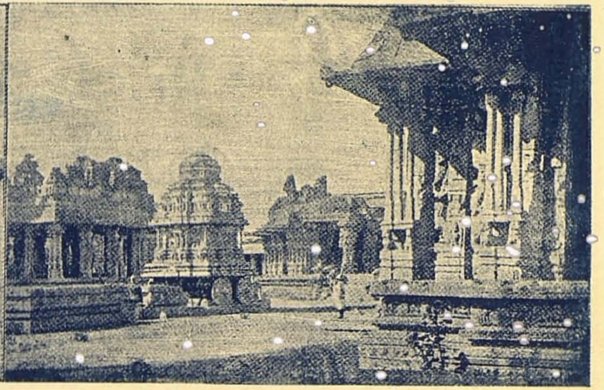
* *Vijaya*, the name of the King, and *Nagar* means a city, *i. e.*, the city of Vijaya, or it means the city of Victory, hence the Hindustani form Bijanagar.

that the new suburb, built on the southern bank of the river, with the river placed in the middle between himself and his Mahomedan enemies, would be much safer for himself and his descendants to live in than Anagondi. Since that period, Anagondi ceased to be the capital of these Kings, and was more or less occupied by poorer classes and subordinate officers. This new city of Vijayanagar must have been built by Vijayadhwaja about A.D. 1150, and it was in existence for nearly two centuries before it was revived in grander proportions by Vidyaranya, under his name of Vidyanagar, in A.D. 1336. Anuvema succeeded his father Vijayadhwaja and ruled in the new capital Vijayanagar from A.D. 1155 to A.D. 1179. His son was Narasimha Deva Raya, who ruled from A.D. 1179 to A.D. 1246, a long period of 67 years, not however without its parallels in the histories of other nations. As Narasimha Deva Raya ruled for 67 years, and as the Mahomedans began to press their conquests on the Deccan, during his long reign, they naturally called this kingdom Narasymga,—an appellation that they easily transferred from the name of the sovereign to the territories which he governed. His long reign gave ample opportunities to extend and beautify the newly-built city of Vijayanagar and at a very early period of the Mahomedan history they began to hear grand stories of its size, wealth and magnificence. His son was Rama Deva Raya who ruled for 25 years from A.D. 1246 to A.D. 1271. He was succeeded by his son Pratapa Raya, who ruled for 26 years from A.D. 1271 to A.D. 1297 and he was succeeded by his son Jambukeswara Raya, who ruled his country for 37 years, from A.D. 1297 to A.D. 1334. He was the last prince of his line and died without issues.*

* According to Nuniz, Mahomed Toglak seems to have captured Anagondi in A.D. 1332 or A.D. 1333, and the King was killed with his band of faithful warriors during its capture. When Toglak made enquiries as to whom the kingdom should be handed over, the minister of the former King of Anagondi told the Emperor of Delhi that there were none living who



Ruins of the Elephants' Stables
at Vijayanagar.



Middle view of Vijayavittalaswami's Temple
at Vijayanagar.

Naturally the kingdom passed through a terrible state of anarchy, internal quarrels convulsed the society of Vijayanagar from one end to the other, and bands of unprincipled men led people into all sorts of excesses. Fortunately for this country, a change came over it, worked as it were by a miracle, by a poor Brahmin hermit, a change by which the old dynasty was unseated for over a century replaced by a new dynasty, which made the empire great and powerful, and whose destinies were guided during this long period by a Brahmin genius of extraordinary merit. This Brahmin was Madhavacharya or Madhava Bhatta, well known to posterity as the great "Vidyaranya"—Sayana Madhava—the learned commentator of the four Vedas and a man of wonderful literary and political talents. He was minister to the sovereigns of the new dynasty for a long period and conducted the affairs of Vidyanagar with zeal, tact, ability, and popularity.

CHAPTER III.

VIJAYANAGAR AND VIDYANAGAR.

THEIR EARLY HISTORY AND RULERS.

It has been shown in the previous chapter, that Anagondi existed as the capital of a long line of rulers, that it had attained to considerable power and wealth under its early rulers, that the last King who fell in the fortress of "Crynmata" had 50,000 troops under his service, that his predecessors had accumulated large quantities of treasure, that this treasure must have been concealed in some place, and that the secret may have been

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were related to the late King, and who had any right to inherit it by ties of blood. Subsequently the kingdom was conferred upon this old minister Deorao, who ruled in Vijayanagar for seven years. There is a striking coincidence of dates and other details given in the "Raya Vamsavali" and the story of Nuniz, and the readers are requested to compare them.

divulged from time to time only to the ruling monarchs. Vijayanagar was constructed by Vijayadhwaja, according to the information given by the "**Raya Vamsavali**" in the possession of the present Raja of Anagondi, and this must have occurred about the year A.D. 1150. Later on, when Jambukeswara Raya died issueless in A.D. 1335, a new dynasty was set up by the Brahmin sage Vidyaranya, called the **Yadava Santati,** headed by the founder Bucarao. Madhavacharya was a poor Brahmin, and according to the most reliable traditions current about him in India, he practiced severe penance in the Bhuvanaswari temple at Hampi, with a view to procure wealth. His prayers were not granted and he was informed by the goddess that he could only expect riches in his next birth. He left Hampi, travelled to Sringeri, the seat of an important religious *matt* then, as it is now, became a sanyasi, and was ordained as its high priest, the "Jagadguru Vidyaranya." Here there was a civil death as it were for this Brahmin, and a religious new birth, and he returned to Vijayanagar soon after he heard of the anarchy that prevailed there on the death of Jambukeswara Raya and made arrangements to set up a new dynasty, as there were no scions or kinsmen of the previous Kings. Who, the members of this new line of Kings were, and whence they came, or to which of the Indian royal dynasties they were related, it is not easy to determine, as there seem to be various versions given by different writers, with regard to their origin, the offices they held and the place of their residence.

The undermentioned are some of the stories, which are offered to fill up this gap, but how far they have served their purpose, will have to be judged by intelligent readers from a careful perusal of the following traditions:—According to the "Raya Vamsavali," Madhavacharya revived Vijayanagar—apparently ruined by the anarchical state which prevailed there for some time after the death

of its King—in very grand proportions—and ruled it directly or indirectly for nearly 10 years.*

In the inscription left by Vidyaranya, in one of the temples at Hampi, and quoted in the 2nd Chapter in full, the stanza makes it clear, that a new city was built by the Brahmin priest in Vijayanagar as the "Saptami Vibhakti" is used in the *Sloka* which unmistakably conveys the idea that a new one was built in Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar must have been, therefore, in existence before this time, and we have had no other references to its construction by any of the contemporary writers. The present Jagadguru of Sringeri has it as one of his titles, that his predecessors built Vidyanagar and he directly traces his "Chelaship" from Vidyaranya and the great Sankaracharya, the preacher of the Adwaithu system of philosophy. "Raya Vamsavali" ascribes the founding of Vijayanagar to Vijayadhwaja, the second son of Chalukya Maharaja, who ruled in Kishkindha. Vidyaranya called the revived city Vidyanagar after his own name, and apparently must

* When Madhavacharya—so runs the popular tradition—returned to Hampi as Jagadguru Sri Vidyaranya, Swami of the Sringeri *Matt*, his first act was to present himself before the goddess Bhuvanaswari and to make his usual worship. The goddess stood before him—probably before his mental vision—and told him that she would now be willing to give him the wealth for which he had made before such severe penance when he was Madhavacharya. The hermit certainly wanted wealth to revive the city and to establish a new dynasty there, and so he informed the goddess that gold coins might be rained for one hour and a-half, over an area of about 10 miles in circumference. This was called *Suvarna* (gold) *Vrishti* (rain) and it rained gold as the sage desired in the space and the time as stipulated. Coins which fell in private houses were given away to their owners, and all those which fell in government lands were accumulated in the official treasury. This story is very largely believed even by the intelligent classes in India as the power of the sage was great and wonderful. Hence it is alleged, that the Kings of Vijayanagar grew so fabulously rich, and were able to lavish their money like water on all their enterprises. As Vidyaranya became a sanyasi, he adopted this plan to get the wealth from the goddess, for the benefit of the Kings and the people as he himself, did not want wealth, for he had renounced all worldly pleasures before he became a recluse. These facts are prominently brought to the notice of the Sanskrit readers, by the pundits of this land.

have ruled there without any King for about ten years. Then he set upon the throne of Vijayanagar one Bukka, who afterwards was called Bukka Maharaja, or Bukka Mahi-Pathi. This must have been in A.D. 1346. Vidyaranya seems to have acted the part of a minister to the sovereigns of this new dynasty for a very long time and the revived city of Vidyanagar flourished wonderfully well under his guidance and able control. The city became so very rich that it soon attracted the attention of the other monarchs in India. Hearing of its wealth, power and magnificence, many foreign travellers came to see the capital and all of them have left very graphic accounts of what they saw in this grand city. Bukka ruled for 21 years and was succeeded by his son Harihara, who ruled for 24 years from A.D. 1366 to A.D. 1389. This is supported by two independent sources of information which may be quoted here for ready reference. On page 245 of Vol. II of Sewell's "S. I. Antiquarian Remains" mention is made of an inscription issued under the name of Harihara and it runs thus:—"In A.D. 1380 Harihara expelled the Mahomedans from Goa, Madhavacharya being his minister." In the "Rulers of India Series" (Albequerque) on page 74 we have the following sentence:—"In A.D. 1367, however, the Hindu minister of Harihara reconquered the city (Goa) and it remained a part of the great Hindu kingdom of Southern India, for more than 70 years." Vidyaranya must have been an elderly personage when he became a sanyasi, and this was before A.D. 1335. And if he was the minister of Harihara in A.D. 1380 as the inscription records, then he must have been their minister for over half a century.*

* The age of Vidyaranya has been variously stated, and it is very difficult now to exactly ascertain what it could have been. Some say that he was a poor Brahmin, but wonderfully versed in all the Shastras; that he composed very valuable treatises on Hindu philosophy, medicine, Vedanthu, astronomy, Dharmasastras, and politics; that he went to perform penance in the Bhuvanaswari temple at Hampi, when he was 75 years old;

I have seen two seals made of silver, now in the possession of the Raja of Anagondi, which were used by Vidyaranya in the transaction of the state business when he was minister to Bukkarao and his descendants. They contain clear letters in Davangari, having a conical shape

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that he spent there 12 years in deep devotion; that he was 87 years old when he went to Sringeri and became its religious head; that he returned to Vijayanagar soon after he heard of the news of Jambukeswara's death and the consequent anarchy; that he spent the remainder of his long life—about 110 years—as minister to the Kings of the Bukka family whom he had placed on the throne of Vijayanagar; that he went away to Benarese soon after Verupaksha Raya assumed the Crown and that he lived in all about 200 years. Instances of such longevity are not wanting in the history of the world, although we cannot definitely say whether this sage lived for 100 or 200 years. Cases of longevity are recorded in the "Encyclopedia Brittanica" to which I would refer my readers. Colonel Todd, the famous author of the "Rajasthan" narrates a personal experience while he was the Political Agent at Odeyapoor. He observes thus:—"Before however I quit this spot, hallowed by these remains, I may mention having seen a being who, if there is any truth at Chutterkote, must be a hundred and sixty years old. This wonder is a fakir, who has constantly inhabited the temples within the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and there is one carpenter, now upwards of ninety, who recollects 'Babaji as an old man and the terror of the children.' To me the man did not appear above seventy." Mr. Sivavadhani, B.A., in his "Life of Vidyaranya," says that the sage seems to have lived for about 119 years as he was the contemporary of Vedantha Desikacharya—one of the greatest names in the Visistadwaitha Philosophy. This famous Acharya lived 102 years and Vidyaranya was his senior by 17 years and Mr. Sriramamurthi, after an examination, of all the records bearing on this subject, says, that Madhava became the Guru at Sringeri in Saka 1253 or A.D. 1331 and after 55 years of religious life he died Saka 1308 or A.D. 1386. It may be noted that Thomas Parr lived 152 years. Peter Torton, died when he was 185. John Rowan lived 172 years, and there are many others, who lived for over a century and a half. The manner of life and nature of occupation, apart from hereditary and special causes, have a most important influence on the duration of life. It would seem that brain work is not unfavourable to longevity. It is almost proverbial that statesmen and Judges often reach an advanced age. Thus we have from 50 to 60 years Virgil, Shakespeare, Pope, and Dante. From 60 to 70 years we have Galvany, Boccacio, Aristotle, and Milton. From 70 to 80 years we have Dryden, Swift, Bacon, and Galileo. We have from 80 to 90 years Carlyle, Plato, Frankiin and Newton. From 90 to 100 years we have Sophocles, Michelangelo and Titian. Physicians are often long lived. Men who have strong minds, who control and concentrate them on grand or sublime things, or who are devoted to religion and sciences are often long lived.

with four corners. One is a little smaller than the other. Harihara Raya was succeeded by his son Deva Raya who ruled for 22 years from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1412.

Nuniz makes mention of Deorao as having built the city of 'Vidyajaṇa," under the directions of a hermit, whom he met on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra, and the date he gives for this important event, must have been, some year, during the reign of Mahomed Toglak in Delhi, as it was this emperor who raised Deorao to the position of the King of Anagondi, and made him take an oath of fealty to him as his vassal. It is difficult to reconcile these two dates as there is a wide gulf between them which cannot be easily bridged over. These differences in the dates given by Nuniz, by the inscriptions and the "Raya Vamsavali," may be solved, perhaps by the discovery of undisputed records at some future time.

Deva Raya was succeeded by his son Vijaya Raya, who ruled from A.D. 1412 to A.D. 1422, and he was succeeded by his son Proudu Deva Raya, who ruled for 25 years from A.D. 1423 to A.D. 1448. He was succeeded by his son Ramachundra Raya, who ruled 13 years from A.D. 1449 to A.D. 1462.

His son was Virupaksha Raya, who ruled for 9 years from A.D. 1463 to A.D. 1471. During the reign of this King a prince named Sri Runga Raya—a descendant of Bijjala

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The age of astronomers who speculate on immense globes and planetary spheres seems to be generally long. It is possible to imagine that with a wonderful development of mind, and a deep devotion to religious and moral philosophy, coupled with a simple recluse life, Vidyaranya may have attained a greater age than that allotted to ordinary mankind. If a reference is made to the Bible, the reader finds that Enoch lived 905 years Cain 910 years, Seth 912 years, Adam 950 years and Noah 950 years. Similar and even greater ages are ascribed to some Rishis and Kings in the Hindu works. How far these facts can be believed, is a matter on which discussion is useless, and the reader will have to depend upon his own powers of logic.

Raya (Kalyanagar) the eldest son of the first Chalukya,—was apparently ruling in some part of the Carnatic, and he sent a relation of his (the exact relationship is not stated in this "Vamsavali"), by name Narasimha Raya with an army, to oust the dynasty of these usurpers and to establish the lawful descendants of the Nanda family on the throne of Vijayanagar.

The dates given in Saka Salivahana and the Hindu lunar cyclic years tally very well in this "Vamsavali," and the list seems to be an old and worm-eaten long roll of thick paper which has been carefully preserved by the rulers of the Vijayanagar Dynasty. The later Kings are not given here, because my object was to show that Anagondi was the capital of a long line of monarchs, and that in the middle of the twelfth century Vijayanagar was built as its capital and the Kings removed their residence to the new city for greater safety and convenience. Vijayanagar was again revived in much grander style by Vidyaranya, who seems to have established a new dynasty of Kings. These perhaps were princes or officers who were fugitives from the Court of Pratapa Rudra Deva of Warangal, after the defeat of that King by the Mahomedans in the early part of the fourteenth century. That Jambukeswara Raya ruled in Vijayanagar receives some confirmation by the fact, that he built a temple after his own name on the side of a small hill—called Jambunatham--about two miles to the east of modern Hospet. This is largely resorted to, by the Hindus as a sanitarium, on account of its mineral water collected in a small rock-cut-well, to the east of the temple front-yard. There are many old inscriptions in this temple, and when properly read they may throw fresh light on these doubtful lists of the Vijayanagar princes. There is also a sacred place called Jambukeswara, between Trichinopoly and Srirangam, in Southern India, on the banks of the

Cauvery; and it is possible that it might have been built by this monarch early in the fourteenth century.*

Coming to our narrative again, we see that Narasimha Raya, who was deputed by Sri Runga Raya, to capture Vijayanagar, and restore the ancient line of Kings, engaged Virupaksha Raya in a battle, defeated him, took Vijayanagar, entered the city in triumph and proclaimed himself as its lawful King.†

But such seems to be the logic of might and power, that when he declared himself the lawful King of Vijayanagar, we see no murmurs raised either by the people of Vijayanagar or by the patron who sent him to conquer the country for him or for the direct descendants of Nanda Maharaja. Napoleon, Cæsar, Baber, Shivaji, Hyder and other usurpers in all parts of the world, declared themselves

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* Mr. Sewell says that Jambukeswara probably belongs to the 15th century A.D., and is therefore older than its great rival the temple of Srirangam. Mr. Fergusson thinks that this temple as an architectural object far surpasses that at Srirangam in beauty. Mr. Moore enumerates a number of inscriptions, but says that they are without dates. An inscription there bears Saka 1403 or A.D. 1481.

† Sri Runga Raya may have been a direct descendant of Bijjala, the eldest grandson of Nanda Maharaja, but the "Raya Vamsavali" certainly traces no relationship of Narasimha Raya to him or to his patron Sri Runga Raya who sent him to oust the usurpers—the Bukka family—and establish the "lawful dynasty" from Bijjala. It is possible that when he was sent with a large army by Sri Runga Raya to conquer the Vijayanagar ruler, Narasimha Deva Raya had no intention of proclaiming himself as the King of Vijayanagar, but when he actually went there on the work of conquest, defeated the enemy, entered the royal city and saw its power, wealth and splendour, his original intentions might have easily been changed. Ambition for power, gain of wealth and acquisition of an extensive kingdom, were too strong for him to resist, and flushed with victory over the greatest prince in Southern India, Narasimha Deva Raya forgot the object of his mission, made himself the King of Vijayanagar, and seems to have defied his relation and patron Sri Runga Raya. From the very mission, which was entrusted to him, coupled with the fact that he was a distant relation of Sri Runga Raya, Narasimha Deva Raya could not have been a more lawful sovereign than Virupaksha Raya, who succeeded his royal ancestors, who were ruling for over a century and a quarter in Vijayanagar.

as lawful sovereigns of the countries they conquered, in the same tune, and these examples of usurpers ousting their lawful sovereigns and calling them by foul names, are matters of everyday occurrence in the histories of the world's nations. The acquiescence of the people of Vijayanagar, in the claims of Narasimha Deva Raya; for this fresh usurpation, of the throne of Vijayanagar, may have been due, to his splendid policy of conciliation of the people of the newly conquered country, amidst whom he cast his lot for power. But on the part of Sri Runga Raya who sent him, it may have been simply due to fear or hopelessness to control, or to march against Narasimha Deva with a sufficient army to punish him.

Narasimha Deva Raya thus became the founder of a new dynasty in Vijayanagar, and his second son Krishna Deva Raya, rose to be the greatest Emperor among those who sat on the throne of Vijayanagar. We shall refer to these events later on. This chapter will not be complete without a reference to the other versions of this story, regarding the founding of the city of Vijayanagar, and the new dynasty which sat upon its throne for over a century and a quarter. Sheik Abu Abdullah Muhammed *alias* Ibu Batuta, of the French historians, visited India in A.D. 1333 and seems to have travelled in it for nine years. His version of the founding of the city of Vijayanagar is considered by some writers to be more reliable than those given by other travellers, since he seems to have written his history from personal experience, and since he was actually in India at that time and therefore a contemporary writer of this great event. Ibu Batuta thus summarises his narrative:—"Sultan Muhammad marched southwards against his rebel nephew Baha-ud-din Gushtasp, who had fled to the protection of the Rai of Kambila in his stronghold amongst the mountains. The Raya sent his guest safely away to a neighbouring Chief, and prepared himself to defend his fortress with great resolution. When

he saw that he could not successfully defend his fortress against heavy odds, he caused a huge fire to be lit, on which his wives, and the wives of his nobles, ministers, and principal men immolated themselves; and this done, he sallied forth with his followers to meet the invaders and was slain. The fortress was captured, and eleven sons of the Rai were made prisoners and carried to the Sultan who made them all Mussalmans.*

After the fortress was captured, the Sultan treated the King's sons with great honour, as much for their illustrious birth, as for his admiration of the conduct of their warlike father. There are some points of difference between this story and the traditional accounts given by Nuniz. Nuniz says that the war against the King of Anagondi was undertaken from a pure greed of conquest. While Batuta relates that it was a campaign undertaken for the capture of a rebel nephew. According to Nuniz, none of the blood royal escaped, whereas Batuta distinctly says that eleven of the King's sons survived. It may be supposed that since the eleven sons became followers of Islam, they were naturally blotted out of account by the orthodox Hindus. The Sultan pursued Bah-ud-din southwards and arrived at the city of the prince who had sheltered his nephew. The King abandoned his guest to the mercy of the Sultan, by whom he was condemned to a death of fiendish barbarity. Both these chronicles continue by saying, that the minister

* Rai is another form for Raya which is a corrupted form in Kanarese, of the Sanskrit term Raja—a King. The Kings of Vijayanagar have always been called Rayas. Kambila or Kampili is the fortress of Kampli, about 8 miles east of Anagondi, on the southern side of the Thungabhadra. It is backed by the mass of rocky hills in the midst of which the great city of Vijayanagar was afterwards built. The neighbouring Chief may have been some Hoysala prince who was ruling in the Carnatic south of Anagondi. Probably this prince who gave shelter was the King of Dwarasamudra. When attacked by a superior force, it is but natural to suppose that the King of Anagondi, who had gone probably to Kampli to intercept the invading forces, fell back on his stronger fortress of Anagondi, and there made a stand before he was finally killed.

of the former King of Anagondi was raised by the Sultan to be the King of Anagondi. He was called Devarao. His hunting and the astonishing spectacle he saw, of a hare biting his dogs, have already been related. When the King returned, he met on the river-bank the sage Madhavacharya, who advised Devarao to found a city on the spot where he had witnessed such a prodigy. The King did so and also raised a magnificent temple in honour of the sage. Mr. Sewell believes this to be the great temple near the river, well known as the temple of Hampi. Observations in this connection made by Mr. Sewell are very interesting, and I shall quote them here for ready reference:—"On the rocks above the temple," remarks Mr. Sewell, "close to a group of more modern Jain temples, is to be seen a small shrine built entirely, roof as well as walls, of stone. Everything about this little relic proves it to be of greater antiquity than any other structure in the whole circuit of hills—it looks like a building of the seventh century A.D. It is quite possible, however, that the shrine may have been used by a succession of recluses, the last of whom was the great teacher Madhava. If we stand on that rock," Mr. Sewell graphically observes, "and imagine all the great ruins of the city visible from thence, the palaces and temples, the statues and towers and walls, to be swept out of existence, we have around us nothing but Nature in one of her wildest moods—lofty hills near and far, formed almost entirely of huge tumbled boulders of granite, but with trees and grass on all the low ground. It was a lonely spot, separated by the river from the more inhabited country, on the farther side, where dwelt the Chiefs of Anagondi, and was just such as would have been chosen for their abode by the ascetics of former days, who loved to dwell in solitude and isolation amid scenes of grandeur and beauty."

Another tradition says, that two brothers by name Bukka and Harihara were serving under the King of Warangal in some high capacity. At the time of the

destruction of that kingdom by the Mahomedans in A.D. 1323, they fled with a small body of horse and escaped into the hilly country about Anagondi. There they made the acquaintance of Madhavacharya and founded the city of Vijayanagar with his help and influence. As they obtained possession of the country, they called their capital the "city of Victory" or Vijayanagar.

A third tradition says that there were two brothers, who were officers in the service of the Mahomedan governor of Warangal, subsequent to its capture in A.D. 1309. They were despatched by the governor of Warangal under the command of Malik-Kafur in A.D. 1310 against the Hoysala-Ballala, who was ruling in Dwarasamudra. The capital of the Hoysalas was captured, but as these two brothers suffered a defeat, they fled with the army under their command to the mountainous tracts near Anagondi. There they met the holy Madhava (Vidyaranya) who was living the life of a recluse. This sage helped the two brothers to establish a kingdom, by his learning and influence, and to found the city of Vijayanagar, afterwards so famous for its extent, population, wealth and magnificence.

A fourth tradition makes a slight variation from the above and states that two Hindu brothers took service under the Deccan Mahomedans and did some distinguished work for them. But feeling repentance for having acted against their religious scruples, they left the service of the Mahomedan prince, fled to the hills of Anagondi, collected some people there, and with the help of the great Madhavacharya, established the kingdom of Vijayanagar and built the royal city.

A fifth runs to the effect that two brothers by name Hukka and Bukka, guards of the treasury of Pratapa Rudra Deva of Warangal, came to their spiritual teacher or guru, Vidyaranya, who was then the head of the monastery of Sringeri and with his help and influence, they founded the

city of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1336. Hukka was made the first King and was succeeded by his brother Bukka.*

A sixth tradition relates, that the great sage Madhavacharya discovered a large quantity of hidden treasure, founded the city of Vijayanagar, ruled over it himself for some time and left it after his death to a Kuruba family who established a regular dynasty of Kings to rule over it.

A seventh tradition, largely current in Southern India, states, that when Vidyaranya was practising severe penance (tapas) on the banks of the Thungabhadra in a cave, in one of those rocky hills, so graphically described by Mr. Sewell, a shepherd named Bukka, used to bring him milk every day, and this useful service he continued to do for a number of years to the pious Brahmin. When Vidyaranya became the Jagadguru of Sringeri *Matt* and returned to Hampi, he found the whole kingdom of Vijayanagar in anarchy. He caused a search to be made for any kinsmen of the royal family, but finding none, who claimed by blood, relationship from the ancient Rayas of Anagondi, he sent for this faithful shepherd Bukka and gave him the throne. Bukka, afterwards, with the help of Vidyaranya, "conquered Canara, Taligas (Telugus), Canguivaroo (probably Conjeevaram or Kanchi), and he of the Badagas."†

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* Buchanan in his "Travels in Southern India," (Mysore III., p. 110) visited Beidur in Mysore in A.D. 1801. A Brahmin by name, Ramappa Varmika, showed him a Sanskrit book in his possession called the "Vidyarayana Sikka" which related that the founders of Vijayanagar were Hukka and Bukka, guards of the treasury of Pratapa Rudra. They fled from Warangal, sought the help of Vidyaranya and established a new dynasty and founded the city of Vijayanagar.

† Cauto (Decada VI. I. V. C. 4) fixes the date of this story in A.D. 1220 which is quite irreconcilable, with any that has been quoted above. He says that this Bukkarao—for Bukka became Bukkarao after he was crowned—was attacked by the Sultan of Delhi, but Bukkarao was able to defeat him and compelled him to retire, whereupon Bukkarao established a new city and called it "Visaja Nagar" or the "City of Victory,"

An eighth tradition goes on to say, that Bukka and Harihara were feudatory princes under the Hoysala Ballalas, that they found an opportunity to explore Anagondi and its surrounding territories, that they met Vidyaranya and that with his advice and help they succeeded in founding a new city called Vijayanagar and a new dynasty of rulers. Nikitin, the Russian, who travelled in India in A.D. 1474 considers that there were two brothers named Bukka and Harihara, that they were members of the old royal house of Kadambas of Banavasi, and that he speaks of them as the Hindu Sultan Kadam, who resided at Bichenaghar.

Here we have a large bundle of stories, and traditions having some general resemblance, but varying considerably in their details as regards the founding of the city of Vijayanagar and its new dynasty of rulers. It is really difficult to make out a consistent history out of these confusing accounts of the foundation of this great city and the new dynasty which sat upon it. Mr. Robert Sewell, who has apparently taken a great deal of trouble to compile the history of the "Forgotten Empire" considers, that out of the general drift of the Hindu legends, combined with the certainties of historical facts, it is possible to cull a reasonable account. His views will be quoted here to show how he seems to reconcile these different versions. Mr. Sewell thus remarks:—"Two brothers, Hindus of the Kuruba caste, who were men of strong religious feeling, serving in the treasury of the King of Warangal, fled from that place on its sack and destruction in A.D. 1323 and took service under the petty Raja of Anagondi. Both they and their

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to mark his victory over the Mahomedan Emperor. This, Cauto says, "we call corruptly Bisanga."

The King Vijayadhwaja ruled from A.D. 1116 to A.D. 1155, and Madhavacharya came nearly two centuries later. Cauto's date therefore does not correspond with the "Raya Vamsavali" or the later accounts, although, if we believe the date given by Nuniz, there seems to be only a difference of ten years.

Chiefs were filled with horror and disgust, at the conduct of the marauding moslems, and pledged themselves to the cause of their country and their religion. The brothers rose to be Minister and Treasurer, respectively, at Anagondi. In A.D. 1334 the Chief gave shelter to Bah-ud-din, nephew of Mahomed of Delhi, and was attacked by the Sultan. Anagondi fell, as narrated by Batuta, and the Sultan retired, leaving Mallick as his deputy to rule the State. Mallick found the people too strong for him and eventually the Sultan restored the country to the Hindus raising to be Raja and Minister, respectively, the two brothers, who had formerly been Minister and Treasurer. These were Harihara I. (Hukka) and Bukka I." *

I have given all the different versions relating to the founding of this grand city, and the new dynasty, which raised it to such prominence, and I leave my readers to accept that story which may seem to them most reasonable.†

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* It is not easy to see why Mr. Sewell should consider the two brothers as members of the Kuruba caste, especially when almost all the traditions and references speak to the fact that they were either members of the old royal families, or those who were in someway related to the fugitive Yadavas. The King of Anagondi was not a petty Chief when he commanded 50,000 troops, at the time of the Mahomedan invasion, and the treasures the Kings had in their coffers were in Ferishta's opinion inexhaustible. It is also difficult to see which are the Hindu legends, "which he has combined with the certainties of historical facts." A careful perusal of his book reveals the fact that he either did not know the existence of the document the "Raya Vamsavali," or that he did not care to make any reference or mention of it in his interesting book. There does not seem to be a single "historical fact," which may be considered as certain in all these traditions and on which a reasonable argument may be based without fear of contradiction. Dates are contradictory and the details are confusing.

† The examination of a large number of inscriptions have shown, that references are frequently made to Vidyanagar as the seat of the empire. A town or city may have two or more names given to it, one after the other, for various reasons. References to such places may be made in their plurality of names. Kasi, Varanasi, and Benares are the names of one single city on the bank of the Ganges, and these have been fixed upon it under special physical, political or religious conditions. When the

A short sketch of the Hindu States in Southern India and their political status at the time of the rise of Vijayanagar will form the subject matter of our next Chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA BEFORE THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

ANCIENT HINDU DYNASTIES: MAURYAS, CHOLAS AND PANDYAS.

If we accept Saka 1258 Dhatu, A.D. 1336, as the date of the revival of Vijayanagar under the name of Vidyanagar, we are largely supported by old and undisputed inscriptions. For the purposes of the present history of this empire, we may safely proceed on this reasonable basis. The Brahmin sage Vidyaranya, seems to have played a very prominent part, both in the revival of the new city in grander proportions on the old, and also in the establishment of a new dynasty of Kings, about whose origin and relationship we have not yet any definite information to guide us.

It is difficult to say, whether they were fugitive princes or officers from Warangal or Dwarasamudra, or were men of humble origin, who were raised to the throne by the sage Madhavacharya, for the services they rendered him when he practised meditation. Whoever they may have been, they soon rose to such wealth and power,

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city of Vidyanagar was re-built on the site of old Vijayanagar, the old name was not forgotten, neither did the name "Vidyanagar" acquire such importance as to obliterate entirely the former appellation. Hence references to this grand city are confusingly given in the writings of the contemporary writers and the large number of inscriptions drawn up under its rulers. Vijayanagar grew into Vidyanagar, and included Anagondi as one of its chief protecting suburbs.

that they came in political contact with the leading dynasties in Southern India, and the Mahomedan dynasties pressing from the North. The causes which led to their early greatness as rulers, cannot be properly understood, unless the readers are taken through the history of the various Hindu dynasties in the South, and the irresistible intrusions of the conquering Mahomedans from the North. Prior to the foundation of the city and kingdom of Vijayanagar, the whole of Southern India was under the domination of ancient Hindu dynasties, dynasties so old, and hallowed by such numberless traditions, that their origin has never been correctly traced, but, nevertheless, which are mentioned in Buddhistic *rock-cut* edicts, some sixteen or seventeen centuries earlier. The Rayas of Vijayanagar, as well as many Princes of the South Indian kingdoms, claim their descent from the Lunar dynasty, with an admixture of relationship with the solar races of the Ikshwaku branch. If this is to be believed, then many of these ruling families must have had very chequered careers, sometimes rising to great wealth and influence, and as often sinking to the lowest strata of political power and existence.

It is strongly alleged by the Hindu writers, that with the fall and destruction of the Nava Nandas—as related in the beautiful drama of Mudra Rakshasa—the direct line of the Lunar dynasty has been extinguished, and that those who claim relationship with and descent from the Lunar line, only do so from the members of the Mauryan dynasty. Sarwartha Siddhi was the ruler of Patalipura—Palibothra of the Grecian historians—modern Patna—and he had nine sons called Nava Nandas by his lawful wife. He had a kept-woman by name Moora Devi, and she bore him a son, who seems to have died when he was young. His son was Chandragupta—the famous Sandrakottus or Androcottus of the Greeks,—the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. This was in the latter part of the fourth century

B. C. We have the authority of Plutarch—in his "Life of Alexander the Great" for the statement that "Androcottus—Chandragupta—who was then very young and who was serving in the army of Porus when he opposed Alexander, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said, that Alexander was within a little of making himself master of all the country." This must have been in 327 B. C.

Chandragupta states further, that the reigning Prince was looked upon with great hatred and contempt "on account of his profligacy of manners and meanness of birth." The reigning Princes in Magadha must have been the Nava Nandas, who might have made themselves odious to the people by their vicious conduct and reckless profligacy. These excesses of the Nava Nandas must have helped the usurper Chandragupta, a great deal in his attempts to bring destruction on the ruling sovereigns and to ascend the throne of Magadha.

Mudra Rakshasa relates, that a Brahmin sage of extraordinary abilities and political knack, named Vishnugupta or Chanikya, by an excellently conceived and very skilfully carried out plot, placed Chandragupta on the throne of the Nava Nandas and brought about the complete destruction of the ruling royal family. Even if this story is believed, it is nowhere stated therein, that all the cousins and collateral relations, of the ruling Princes, were murdered along with them. If, therefore, some Princes in the south of India claim direct descent from the ancestors of the Nava Nandas or the scions of the earlier Lunar Princes, they may not be altogether wrong in their assertions. Since it is possible to conceive, that they may have been descended from different branches of the Lunar line or Chandravamsa, though not in the same stock, in which Nava Nandas traced their descent. Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C., and after a successful and iron

rule of 25 years, he was succeeded by his son Bindusara in 297 B. C. *

Bindusara reigned like his father for 25 years and was succeeded by his famous son Asoka Priyadarsin Maurya, in 272 B. C. From the numerous "edicts" which have been discovered and brought to light, Asoka appears to have been the greatest emperor in India in those earlier centuries. When a careful perusal of the history of India, is made, we have very few sovereigns who ruled over such vast territories as Asoka did in his time. The extent and grandeur of his empire cannot be adequately conceived by the readers of Indian history after the lapse of nearly twenty-two centuries.†

Asoka inherited an empire which exceeded the area of British India and which extended from sea to sea.

"The limits of the Indian empire were determined by the natural frontier of the mountain range, known by the

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* Bindusara Amitraghatha is variously named in the different records. His names are—Bhadrasara, Nandasara, and Varisara, and the Greeks called him Amitrochades. It is usual to find several names, for the same King in India. Some of them seem to be honorific—others patronymic—and others relating to oddities of person or mind of the sovereign.

† Chandragupta seems to have founded a very extensive empire and about the year 306 B. C. the Syrian monarch Seleucus, who was one of the Generals of Alexander the Great and who had assumed the regal title about this time, despatched the eminent Greek Philosopher Megasthenes as his ambassador to the court of Chandragupta. The Grecian historian resided for a considerable time at the court of the Indian sovereign and fortunately for posterity, took the trouble to record what he saw. A large part of his book has survived in fragments and the later generations are greatly indebted to him for all information known about India in the days of Chandragupta. Megasthenes writes to say that "he found the government of the Indian King strong and well organised, established in a magnificent fortified city worthy to be the capital of a great kingdom." He significantly observes further that "the royal camp at the capital was estimated to contain 400,000 souls and an efficient standing army numbering 60,000 Infantry, 30,000 Cavalry, 8,000 elephants, and a multitude of chariots, was maintained at the King's expense. On active service the army is said to have attained the huge total of 600,000 men."

names of Paropanisus, Indian Caucasus or Hindoo Kush and included the provinces of Western Afghanistan and Gedrosia (Mekran). The cities of Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, and Herat were, therefore, all comprised within the territories inherited by Asoka from his grandfather." Asoka was master of all India except the extreme south. The countries of Kashmere and Nepaul were included in the Maurya empire. Asoka is remembered as the founder of Srinagar, the present capital of Kashmere. The inclusion of the Nepalese Terai or low lands in the empire is conclusively proved by the inscriptions on the pillars at Nigliva and Rummindei. But at his accession Kalinga was not included. "In the ninth year of his reign, this region was conquered and permanently annexed to his empire. The southern limits of the empire are fixed by the occurrence of the Siddhapura inscriptions in the Mysore State (N. L. 14^{0}-5^{1}) and by the enumeration, in the edicts of the nations in the south of the Peninsula, which retained their independence." The Chola Kings in those days held their capital at a place called "Uraiyur" near Trichinopoly, and were the rulers of the south-east of the Indian Peninsula. The Pandyan capital was further south at Madura. The territories between the Western Ghauts and the sea down to Cape Comorin (Malabar) was known as the kingdom of "Kerala." Asoka recognises all these kingdoms and Ceylon as independent. Asoka erected numerous *stupas*, and a few of them stood in independent territory, where their erection must have been dependent on the goodwill and permission of the local sovereigns. A more potent reason for granting such permission to Asoka to build his *stupas*, appears to have been, the dread, which these minor Kings felt to refuse the request of a great and powerful emperor like Asoka. The majority of those *stupas*, however, were situated in provinces which belonged to the empire." A *stupa* was erected at the capital of the Dravida country (modern Conjeevaram),

and another was erected at "Vengi," the capital of the Andhra territory, situated forty-three miles south-west of Madras. "The standing army," observes Mr. Vincent Smith, "maintained at the King's cost, was formidable in numbers, comprising, according to Pliny, 600,000 Infantry, 30,000 Cavalry, and 9,000 elphants, besides chariots, and was with reference to the standard of antiquity, very highly organised."*

The successors of Asoka ruled over a short period and the Mauryan dynasty appears to have become extinct in 188 B. C. It will not be unreasonable to suppose, that the collateral relations of the ancestors of Chandragupta, fearing the wrath of the new usurper on the throne of Magadha, and the general severity of Chandragupta's government, may have thought it expedient to migrate

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* A few words about the extent and magnificence of the capital of Asoka may be found here, to be interesting. Patalipura—the capital of Magadha—stood at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, on the southern bank of the latter river, now occupied by the large native city of Patna and the civil station of Bankipore. The Son has changed its course since, and joins the Ganges near the cantonment of Dhanapur.

The old course can easily be traced. The ancient city, like modern Patna "was a long and narrow parallelogram about nine miles in length and a mile and-a-half in breadth." The wooden walls, described by Megasthenes, were protected by a wide and deep moat and were pierced by sixty-four gates, and crowned by five hundred and seventy towers. "Asoka built an outer masonry wall, and beautified the city with innumerable stone buildings, so richly decorated that in after ages they were ascribed to the genii." The greater part of this city now lies buried in the silt of the rivers at a depth of from ten to twenty feet. "The excavations," says Mr. Vincent Smith, "as far as they have been carried, fully confirm the accuracy of the account given by Megasthenes and the Chinese pilgrims, of the extent and magnificence of the Maurya capital." Fa-hien at the beginning of the 5th century, who seems to have personally visited this city, writes thus:—"The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now, as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculptured work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." The great Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, saw the city more than two centuries after and he found it deserted and in ruins."

into the south of India, then probably sparsely inhabited by the aboriginal and uncivilised tribes, and there, these royal fugitives found means to establish colonies which afterwards became independent, till they were merged into or supplanted by more powerful dynasties, according to the fortunes in the constant wars which they had to wage against their neighbours and invaders. This inference receives some confirmation, when we read the character of Chandragupta in the light thrown upon it by Justinian, who significantly remarks, "that that Prince (Chandragupta) who freed his countrymen from the Macedonian yoke after his victory, forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom."

During his time, the laws were enforced with unusual severity and the people suffered a great deal by his tyranny. Under such conditions, the relations and friends of the lawful sovereigns of Magadha, found it more expedient to leave their country and to seek their fortunes elsewhere, than to offer opposition to the cruel-hearted usurper, who brought on the destruction of the legitimate sovereigns with the help of his Brahmin benefactor Chanikya."

The Pandyans and Cholas seem to have been the earliest dynasties ruling in Southern India, and the edicts of Asoka, clearly prove that they were independent. Hiuen Tsiang mentions one *stupa* of Asoka in the Chola country and another in the Dravida or Pandya kingdom. These countries were independent and the *stupas* "can have been erected, only by the friendly co-operation of the local Kings." The kingdoms of Chola and Pandya are also mentioned by Varahamihiracharya, in his Brihat Samhita, and this great astronomer is said to have flourished in the 6th century A. D. It proves, there-

fore, beyond the least shadow of a doubt, that Pandyans and Cholas were independent Kings in the extreme south of India, even long before the Mauryan dynasty made its appearance on the political stage of the world's history. Chalukyas also appear to be on the stage of Southern India at an early period; and it is possible to think, that they were the descendants of Chandragupta, who originally might have gone under the name of *Chanikyas*, in honor of the illustrious Brahmin Rishi Chanikya, who established Chandragupta on the throne of Magadha. A short history of each of those dynasties, who ruled in Southern India, will be given here for ready reference. Without the sketches of these South Indian dynasties, the history of the rising empire of Vijayanagar would hardly become intelligible and connected.*

1. **Cholas.**—The numerous inscriptions found in almost all parts of Southern India, bear unmistakable testimony to the great political influence, which the Chola Kings exerted at different periods of their existence. The kingdom of Chola, forms one of the three principal divisions of Southern India, "which existed from the earliest known historical times." The Cholas seem to have held the East, the Pandyans the South, and the Cheras the West. This distinction appears to have existed as far back as the 4th or 3rd century B. C., and is confirmed by Greek historians. Beyond a few references in the edicts of Asoka, about the country of the Cholas, their history is almost blank, till the days of Raja Raja in the early part of the eleventh century A.D. Many of the Chola inscriptions

* In the "Epigraphia Carnata," published by Mr. Rice, Vol. XI., an inscription dated A.D. 1148 contains the following reference to the origin of Chalukyas:—"From the navel of Vishnu arose a white lotus, and from the heart of Brahma, who was born from that lotus, sprang the famous Harita; the progenitor of the family. His son was Hârîta in the water of whose *chaluka* (waterpot or hand hollowed to hold water) was miraculously born *Satima* with a drawn sword. From that Satyasraya did this Chalukya line rule with true glory over Kuntala." This inscription is found in the temple at Harihara.

are only dated in the years of the reign of Chola Kings, and hence it was found very difficult to make a consistent list of Kings who ruled over their country. However, this defect has been partly cured, by the inscriptions brought to light in the Archæological researches pursued by Mr. L. Rice in the Province of Mysore, where some *sasanas* in Hala Kannada characters, contain Saka dates for several Chola Kings. "This discovery," as Dr. Hultzsch rightly reports, "supplies a great desideratum." Very little is known of the history of Southern India for three or four centuries immediately preceding the sudden rise of the Cholas into great power in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. A few inscriptions relating to the Pallava and Chalukyan Kings, throw some light upon the existence and position of the Cholas as independent sovereigns. In Wilson's collection of Mackenzie's manuscripts, an inscription shows that in A.D. 894 Aditya Varma, King of the Cholas, conquered the Kongu country and the Cholas seemed to have held that territory till the 10th century. Vikramaditya I. of the Western Chalukyas, claims to have conquered Chola about the latter part of the 7th century. Dr. Burnell appears to think that the Cholas were conquered by the Chalukyas shortly before the reign of Raja Raja, who raised the Chola kingdom to great eminence. Al Biruni says that Tanjore was in ruins at the beginning of the 11th century. Raja Raja Chola must have restored the fallen city into greatness soon after he succeeded to the throne. During the earlier periods, the Cholas were repeatedly attacking, and being attacked by the Pandyans, Pallavas, Chalukyas, Kadambas and others. In the history of Ceylon, we find an invasion of that island by the Cholas about 247 B. C. and Ceylon was held by the Cholas for 44 years.*

* If this is true, then Ceylon lost its independence, and became a colony of the Cholas during the lifetime of Asoka, as the latter sovereign died in 232 B. C.

A second invasion came a century later, and a third in the year A.D. 1110. A short time after, a counter-invasion of the Chola territories by the Singhalese took place, and there seems to have been constant wars between the two races—the Cholas and the Singhalese. In the middle of the 10th century, the King of Ceylon appears to have sent an army to help the Pandyans, who were then at war with the Cholas, but the Pandyans were defeated, and the Cholas in revenge invaded Ceylon but were beaten back.

At the beginning of the 11th century, the Eastern Chalukyas appear to have held the country all along the eastern coast, from the southern limits of Orissa, as far as the borders of the Pallava country. The Pallavas were a powerful line of Kings, who possessed the eastern coast from its junction with the Chalukyas down to the northern border of the Chola territories—a little to the south of Kanchi *(Conjeevaram)*. The Cholas and the Pandyans appeared to have remained within their own borders, while the Kongu Kings who governed the old *Cherala* country, east of the Malayalam tracts along the coast, although they were still independent and powerful, were beginning to feel the effects of the attacks of the then rising Hoysala Ballalas, who afterwards were destined to subvert many of the surrounding dynasties. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that as the Cholas and the Pandyans were contemporary and as their kingdoms touched each other, they must have been constantly at war with one another. In the beginning of the 7th century, the celebrated King Satyasraya of the Chalukyan dynasty, had proposed to himself, to annihilate the Cholas, but the expedition seems to have been abandoned for some reasons not stated in the inscriptions. At first, the Chola capital seems to have been at Uraiyur, close to Trichinopoly. Then it was transferred to Malaikurram (Malakota) and afterwards to Tanjore. The Chola banner had a

tiger on it, which the Kings of this dynasty must have taken from the Pallavas.

Raja Raja reigned from A.D. 1023 to A.D. 1064 or about 41 years. He was a successful conqueror and ruler and the tottering power of the Cholas was for a time, consolidated and strengthened both by him and his illustrious son Kulottunga I. There seem to be some differences, about the dates of the succession of these rulers, as shown by the inscriptions collected by Mr. Rice in Mysore, and those which have already been published by Archæologists under the auspices of the Madras Government. Raja Raja Chola, owing to an intermarriage, between the Cholas and the Eastern Chalukyas, united the whole of Vengi and Kalinga, to the Chola territories. This powerful monarch invaded Ceylon in A.D. 1050, defeated the Singhalese army, seized the Government, took Mihinda, its King, a prisoner, and sent him with his queen and the Crown jewels to the mainland. A Chola Viceroy was appointed to govern the conquered country. In A.D. 1064, Kulottunga I, one of the greatest Princes of his day, ascended the throne of the Chola kingdom, on the death of his father Raja Raja Chola, and by the union of the Chola and the Eastern Chalukyan dominions, he extended his kingdom up to the borders of Orissa, and also conquered, for a time, the whole of the Pandyan kingdom. A tradition says that his illegitimate son Adondai, completely crushed the power of the Pallavas of Kanchi, and it seems certain that the annexation of the kingdom of the Pallavas to that of the Cholas took place about this period. In the great inscription round the temple at Tanjore, it is stated that the Cholas, towards the beginning of the 11th century, conquered Bengal. The Cholas also seem to have swept over the Western Chalukya country during the reign of Raja Raja. This success of the Cholas, however, seems only to have been temporary, as they were very soon

driven over the Thungabhadra, by Someswara I, of the Chalukyan dynasty and their leader was killed in A.D. 1059 or A.D. 1060. The Western Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Cholas and under their King Vikramaditya VI, who reigned from A.D. 1075 to A.D. 1126, they seem to have repeatedly defeated the Cholas and plundered Kanchi. Vikramaditya, who had married a daughter of the Chola King, on the occurrence of a rebellion in the Chola country, in which his brother-in-law was killed—probably Raja Raja Chola—had heard that Rajiga, King of Vengi, had marched down, and seized Kanchi. . . . Vikramaditya marched to the south to meet him. His brother Somaswara, followed him with another army, ostensibly to assist Vikramaditya, but intended to play the traitor. A fierce battle ensued, in which Rajiga was defeated and Somaswara was taken prisoner. The Cholas were victorious in all directions. Mr. Sewell observes that the above account given in Mr. Fleet's new publication was taken from Bilhana, a Native Poet, and therefore "could not have been true in details." The story may, however, have been based on truth. Kulottunga I. had several names, and these were, Vira, Rajandra, Koppakesarivarma, and Kovi Rajakesari. He seems to have conquered Somaswara I. of the Western Chalukyas, who was also called Ahavamalla, in a battle near the Thungabhadra. This fact is recorded in several inscriptions. The Pandyan King, who was conquered by Kulottunga, was Vira Pandyan, son of Vikrama Pandyan. This is supported by inscriptions found at Chidambaram. Kulottunga's younger brother, who seems to have conquered the Gangas, and who, on that account, was called Gangakonda Chola, was placed on the throne of Madura. An inscription found at Karur, states that Ganganakonda Chola, was a younger brother of Rajandra, and that the latter, on conquering the Pandyans,—hence called Madhurantaka, or Yama to Madura—established him on

the Pandyan throne under the title of Sundara Pandya Chola. Kulottunga I. held firmly his father's conquest in Ceylon for some years. Kasyapa, son of Mihinda, who was captured by Raja Raja—collected an army and drove back the Chola Viceroy. But he died very early, to complete the work of conquest he had undertaken. The throne of Ceylon was then seized by the son of the Minister, Lokeswara, there being no other claimants for the royal position. He called himself Vijaya Bahu I, and proclaimed war against the Cholas. The natives of the Island flocked to his standard in large numbers, and fighting was soon after resumed. After some desultory warfare, a general action was fought under the walls of Pallonnaruwa, and the Cholas were defeated and driven into the town. After a seige of six weeks, Vijaya Bahu carried the town by storm and the defenders were put to death. His authority was recognized all over the Island. Soon after this, Vijaya Bahu insulted the Chola King, by giving precedence at an audience, to the envoy from Siam, in preference to the Chola representative. This enraged Kulottunga. He seized the Singhalese ambassador at his court and cut off his nose and ears. War ensued. The Cholas landed a large army at Mantotti. defeated the Singhalese King, marched on their capital and demolished the city.

Vijaya Bahu at first seems to have lost heart and fled to the surrounding country, but he soon recovered his courage, returned to the attack, defeated the invaders and drove them from the Island altogether. According to native chronicles, Raja Raja seems to have three sons and one daughter. They were (1) Rajandra Chola or Kulottunga I.; (2) Ganganakonda Chola, who was placed on the throne of Madura after his father's conquest of the Pandyan country; (3) Kundava, who married Vimuladitya, of the Eastern Chalukyas, and (4) Sarangudhara. Mr. Sewell in his "S.I. Antiquities," doubts whether "this Prince could

possibly be identical with Saran
Rudra Deva, Churanga, Chor Ganga,
from Karnataka by the Chiefs of Orissa
of the Kesari dynasty of that kingdom, fou
Vamsa family of Orissa about the year A.D.
significant fact to note, that Kulottunga, claims
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brother Sarangadhara, who went to Bengal, conquered it, and on his way, saw the anarchical state in Orissa, and established the Ganga Vamsa Kings.*

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* Appa Kavi says that Sarangadhara studied Telugu grammar directly under Nannayabhatta. Mr. Sewell observes that "this date given to Nannayabhatta must have been a century earlier." If the work of that great Telugu poet Nannayabhatta is carefully perused, there seems to be no reason to quarrel about the dates. Nannayabhatta says that Raja Raja, the son of Vimaladitya, and Kundava Devi, ascended the throne of his father in Saka A.D. 944 or A.D. 1022. The translation of the Mahabharata has been dedicated by Nannayabhatta to this Raja Raja or Raja Narendra. Kundava was the daughter of Raja Raja Chola, whose capital was at Tanjore. Raja Raja Chola succeeded to the throne of the Cholas in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1023 as we believe Mr. Rice or Mr. Sewell, respectively. Inscriptions support both these dates, and Raja Raja Chola may have been reigning along with his father, not an unusual procedure in the lives of Hindu sovereigns many, of whose reigns overlap each other. Nannayabhatta must have been in the vigour of his youth when he wrote his Mahabharata. Raja Raja, the son of Vimaladitya, thus becomes the grandson of Raja Raja Chola, being his daughter's son. If A.D. 1023 is taken as the accession to the throne of Raja Raja Chola, we have the fact that a year earlier than this, his daughter's son, Raja Narendra, was placed on the throne of the Eastern Chalukyas at Rajamahandri. It is possible to conceive that Vimaladitya died when his son was young, and the infant may have been placed on the throne, in A.D 1022. Virasalingam Puntulu says in his "Lives of the Telugu Poets" that, by calculation of the date given by Nannayabhatta, the time of the coronation of Raja Raja was found to be 19th July, A.D. 1022. The son of this King was Sarangadhara, and he studied Telugu grammar under the famous Nannayabhatta. But one difficulty stares the readers in the face. Raja Chola ruled up to A.D. 1064 and therefore must have been a very old man then, to have had a grandson in A.D. 1022. There were thus two Sarangadharas, one, the last son of Raja Raja Chola, and another his daughter Kundavas' grandson or the son of Raja Narendra. There seems to be a possibility, that both these Sarangadharas might have studied their Telugu grammar under Nannayabhatta. If Raja Raja Chola had a son in A.D. 1050, it is possible to conceive

A few sovereigns seem to have ruled over the Chola country after Kulottunga I., and there appear to be no important events, connected with their careers, which require insertion in the pages of the present history. Some inscriptions, dated in the latter part of the 12th century, are found, in the name of Rajendra, who was the son of Kulottunga II., in the country between the Godavery and the Krishna. After Rajendra, anarchy seems to have prevailed for some years, during which time petty Chiefs held sway—probably over small areas—preparing the way for their final overthrow by the Ganapathis of Warangal, who seized and held the country firmly till the 14th century. In this way, the sovereignty of the Cholas, north of the Pennar, seems to have come to an end. Two of the Conjeevaram inscriptions state that there was a second Raja Rajendra Chola, who ruled from A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1232. If the dates given in these inscriptions are correct, then Kalinga seems to have been lost for ever to the Cholas during the reign of this Prince. Some more inscriptions, found in Conjeevaram and other places, give details of grants made by the Chola Princes; but none of these Kings seems to have been powerful enough to attract any further attention. Inscriptions in the Chingle-

that his daughter's son Raja Narendra, who was crowned in A.D. 1022 may also have had a son about that period and that both these young Sarangadharas may have been, in the absence of contradictory evidence, contemporaries, one ruling afterwards at Rajamahandri, and the other over portions of Karnatic for some time, and then founding, later on, the dynasty of the Ganga Vamsa rulers, in Orissa. These facts, however, require strong confirmatory evidence from authentic sources before they can be accepted as portions of any reliable history. If Nannayabhatta dedicated his famous work to Raja Narendra, there seems to be no difficulty in supposing that he taught Telugu grammar to his sovereign's son, an event, the belief of which does not require much stretch of imagination. Nannayabhatta may have lived up to a good old age, and this naturally brings him to the latter part of the 11th century. The word Kesari furnishes an interesting history. It means in Sanskrit a lion—hence the word for a powerful monarch. In A. S. Kesar meant a King. The title of the German Emperor "*Kaiser*" is from this source, as also the Roman and Russian titles of Cæsar and Czar or Tzar, respectively

put District speak of a Chola sovereign, Vijayakanda Gopala Deva, as ruling in the middle of the 13th century. Another inscription states that a grant was made by Mathurantaka or Porrapi Chola, who began to reign in A.D. 1286 and held the Chola kingdom till the Mussalman invasion of A.D. 1310, when the tottering power of the Cholas seems to have been completely broken. The Mahomedans held the country from A.D. 1310 to A.D. 1347 and then they were driven across the Krishna river by a powerful combination of the South Indian Hindu Princes. The Generals or Chiefs of the Vijayanagar sovereigns, seem to have assumed the name of "Udaiyars," and, as they were entrusted with large and well disciplined armies, they appear to have usurped the thrones of old and decaying monarchies, and ruled them under the nominal or real supremacy of the Vijayanagar emperors as suited their interests or convenience, till the whole of Southern India was brought under the complete sway of the later Vijayanagar monarchs. One of these was Kampana, son of Bukkana Udaiyar, and he seems to have usurped the throne of the Cholas and set up a short dynasty there. Incriptions found in various localities give him the date A.D. 1377.

Aryana succeeded Kampana in A.D. 1377 and he was succeeded by his son Virupana. Finally, Virupana seems to have been either conquered or superseded by King Harihara of Vijayanagar. The South Indian dynasties began to feel the power of the rising Vijayanagar rulers towards the latter part of the 14th century, and at the close of the 15th, there was no Native State in Southern India, which had retained even the semblance of independent power. By this time, the conquests of the Vijayanagar rulers had been completed, and Governors and Viceroys were appointed by them to rule all the important States, under their immediate control and orders. Thus the kingdom of the Cholas, which had probably existed for over two or three thousand years, lost its independence,

possibly be identical with Saranga who was also called Rudra Deva, Churanga, Chor Ganga, &c., who, summoned from Karnataka by the Chiefs of Orissa, after the collapse of the Kesari dynasty of that kingdom, founded the Ganga Vamsa family of Orissa about the year A.D. 1132 It is a significant fact to note, that Kulottunga, claims to have reduced Bengal, into subjection. This conquest of a distant country may have been entrusted to his warlike brother Sarangadhara, who went to Bengal, conquered it, and on his way, saw the anarchical state in Orissa, and established the Ganga Vamsa Kings.*

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and ceased to be a political power in the annals of Southern India.

Pandyans.—The kingdom of Pandya seems to have been in existence from time immemorial, and it is difficult to say when and by whom it was founded. Several centuries before the Christian Era, mention is made of this kingdom, in the Puranas, Bharata and Bhagavata, in the edicts of Asoka, and in the Mahawanso. Megasthenes, who visited India in the latter part of the 4th century B.C. makes reference to this kingdom. The Greek geographers notice Pandyan dynasty as specially important among the South Indian States. "The next authentic reference to the Pandyans after the visit of the Greeks and before the composition of the Mahawanso," says Mr. Sewell, "is that which is contained in the Brihat Samhita, one of the astronomical or rather astrological works of Varaha Mihira, an Indian astronomer, who lived in A.D. 404.*

* The age of Varaha Mihira is variously given, but recent researches of the scholars have almost fixed it at about A.D. 505. Dr. H. Kern's "Bibliotheca Indica" series, published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—in his preface to the Brihat Samhita enters into a lengthy discussion about the age of Varaha Mihira. The Ujjayani astronomers fix it as Saka 427 or A.D. 505. The great Arabian astronomer, Albiruni, gives a similar date. Brahmagupta—one of the greatest names in Hindu astronomy—seems to have lived a century after Varaha Mihira. N. Chidambara Iyer, B.A., the translator of "Brihat Samhita" refers to verse 2, Chapter III. of this work, and by a series of mathematical calculations referring to the "lengths of the Ayanamsam" proves that the date of Varaha Mihira must have been A.D. 416. According to K. L. Chatrai, M. A., the date will be A.D. 572. Aryabhatta was born, according to some authorities, in A.D. 476, and, as Varaha Mihira quotes Aryabhatta, Dr. Kern argues that the former should have lived at least in the early part of the sixth century. On the other hand, Chidambara Iyer—who relies more upon the internal evidence based upon the statement of Varaha Mihira himself—remarks, with reference to this important point, thus:—"As regards the difficulty that Varaha Mihira has quoted from Aryabhatta, which quotation must be in his Pancha Siddhantica—now lost —it is not improbable that the quotation is from Vridharyabhatta." Amaraja—a scholiast on Brahmagupta, fixes Saka 509 or A.D. 587 as the year of this astronomer's death. In the absence of the quotation itself by Varaha Mihira from Aryabhatta, the discussion of these scholars, basing

Pliny mentions in A.D. 77 both the country a[…] city of the Pandyans. Bishop Caldwell appears to t[…] "that the Indian King who sent an embassy to Augustus at Rome was the then Pandyan sovereign."

Georgius Syncellus says under "the head of the 185th Olympiad, Pandyan, King of the Indians, sends an embassy to Augustus desiring to become his friend and ally." Mr. Sewell observes that "Madura was mentioned as its capital in the Periplus Maris Erythrœi in the 3rd century A.D." He also says "that there was probably a Roman colony settled at Madura, as Roman copper coins in considerable numbers have been found in the sandy bed of the river there. Silver or gold coins would simply indicate commerce, but copper coins seem to imply the residence of the traders. However this may be, there is abundant evidence of an extensive trade between Rome and the Western Coast (at least) of the Peninsula of India in those days." Continuing further his remarks, Mr. Sewell, adds "that the great age of the Pandyan kingdom is amply attested by the Singhalese epic, the Mahawanso, which professes to be a historical record. . . . . According to that poem Vijaya, first King of Ceylon, who landed in that Island at the date of Budha's Nirvana 477 B. C. ? married the daughter of the Pandyan King. If this story proves nothing else, it proves that the Singhalese in the 5th century believed that the Pandyan kingdom was older than their own."

The history of Ceylon contains an account of the invasion of the Pandyans in the year A.D. 840, and who were bought off with a large ransom. After some time, the Singhalese King invaded the Pandyan country to help

their judgments on it in a book that is not yet discovered, appears to me highly ludicrous. Nobody has seen Varaha Mihira's quotation from Arya bhatta, because it is supposed to be in Pancha Siddhantica—"now lost." If that valuable book is lost, how to credit any quotations in it which have never been seen up to date by the modern scholars?

...n of the Pandyan King against his father. Madura ... then captured by them and plundered. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the Singhalese and the Cholas had constant wars, and the silence of the Singhalese chronicles, regarding the Pandyans, during that period, affords some proof of the complete subversion of the Pandyan kingdom, by the warlike and enterprising Cholas. Kulottunga's brother, Ganganakonda Chola, was seated on the throne of the Pandyan kingdom, under the title of Sundura Pandyan, and this seems to have been the final act of absorption of the Pandyan territories, by the Cholas, into their own. Henceforward, references to the Pandyans will have to be made only in name, as their separate independent political existence, as a nation, was done away with. The Cholas, who had usurped the Pandyan throne, were, in their turn, ousted later on by the then rising Vijayanagar rulers, who were finally to absorb all the ancient southern Hindu kingdoms, into their own extensive empire and thus form a new epoch in the history of Southern India. The Pandyans had the fish on their banner for their motto. From a careful perusal of the Pandyan history, as much as we can make it out from recorded facts and inscriptions, they do not seem to have made any extensive conquests as their neighbours, the Cholas or the Chalukyas did, during their greatest periods of power. They were more or less confined to the extreme south of India. A branch of the Pandyans appears to have been ruling at "Uchangi Droog," a strong hill fortress, just over the northern border of Mysore, in the north-west of the Bellary District. The Archæological researches of Mr. Rice in Mysore, have brought to public knowledge, many inscriptions which throw some light on the history of these Pandyan Princes. An inscription runs to the effect that they were Princes of the Chandra Vamsa—Lunar dynasty. They seem to have been originally ruling in Hayve country, one of the seven

Konkanas, with their capital at Sistugali.* One of their Princes, Kamadeva, son of Kama and Bagala Devi, a Rajput Princess, was ruling in A.D. 1113. He was lord of Gocarnapura and protector of Konkonarastra. Another inscription relates that Tribhuvana Malla Raya Pandya Deva was ruling in A.D. 1125 the Nolamba Vadi and Santaligi Provinces. Jagadika Malla Vira Pandya appears to have been ruling in A.D. 1149. He assumes the title—among others—of defeater of the designs of Rajendra Chola. The power of these Pandyans seems to have been finally overthrown by the Hoysala Ballalas. The exact relationship of these and the Pandyans, who were ruling in Madura, is not yet clearly traced. It would, indeed, be interesting to know if their origin can be authentically traced to the Pandyans at Madura in the light of undisputed documents which may be discovered hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA BEFORE THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

PALLAVAS, CHALUKYAS AND HOYSALAS.

Pallavas.—These seem to have been a very old dynasty, who had established themselves on the east coast of India. We have as yet, very scanty information about their emigration and early history. At one time they seem to have possessed an extensive kingdom, lying mostly along the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, and over the whole or almost the whole of Deccan. Their southern boundary was the Chola kingdom and they extended their territory in the north to the river Godavery. Kanchi was their capital and their dominions, contracted or expanded—as

* This is formed out of two Kannada words: *Sisu*—infant; and *Kali* or *Kalitana*—boldness or skill which characterised the children born there.

with other political powers—by the defeats or successes respectively, they had, in the numerous wars which they waged against the neighbouring states. Their device was a tiger on the flag. They seem to have been a powerful and warlike nation, whose conquest was significantly claimed, as a matter of prowess, in the inscriptions by their conquerors, the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Gangas, and the Hoysalas. The great Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Kanchi in A.D. 640, declares the "city to have been six miles in circumference, and the people there to be superior in bravery and piety, as well as in their love of justice and veneration for learning, to many others whom he met with in his travels." Dr. Burnell says—on what authority it is not clear—that the *Adwaitha* reformer, Sankaracharya, flourished about the latter part of the 7th century, and preached, his philosophy—it is said —at Kanchi. From an inscription dated Saka 616 or A.D. 694 in the 14th year of the reign of Vinayaditya Satsyasrya, the Western Chalukyan monarch, it is found that the overgrown power of the Thrai Rajya Pallavas (the three Kings of the Pallavas or their triple alliance) was broken by the Chalukyan Prince, and that he entered Kanchi and seized it. It is also made clear by this inscription, that the Pallavas had been, for the first time, defeated by Vikramaditya I, father of Vinayaditya, and that "he received obeisance from the Kanchi King who had *bowed to no other*." Another point which is brought out by this important inscription is, the fact, that the Pallavas had threatened destruction to the family of the Western Chalukyas— "who were as pure as the rays of the moon" and who were descended from the Lunar race. The Pallavas were, therefore, very powerful in the 7th century, and were about to strike a fatal blow, at the rising power of the Western Chalukyas, probably by a strong alliance with two other Princes, who were either relations of the Kanchi Pallavas, or who were their vassals, governing over neigh-

bouring provinces. This triple combination seems to have been utterly broken down by the vigilance of the warlike Chalukyan monarchs, Vikramaditya I. and his illustrious son, Vinayaditya Satsyasrya, who readily met the combined armies and apparently routed them, with great slaughter, for we find that Kanchi was seized by the latter sovereign and must have been plundered for the first time in the history of its existence. Inscriptions relating to other dynasties constantly mention the Pallavas, as being at war with the Chalukyas. The first Eastern Chalukyan sovereign had gained his hold of that portion of the Deccan, which his successors afterwards ruled by defeating and then intermarrying with the ruling family of the Pallavas, who then held that territory. In the reign of Trilochana Pallava, a Chalukyan army seems to have crossed the Narbudda from the North, under the command of Jayasimha or Vijayaditya. He lost his life in the battle against the Pallavas; and his widow fled and took shelter in a Brahmin's house. She gave birth to a posthumous son, who defeated the Pallavas and married one of their Princesses. This must have taken place in the early part of the 4th century A.D. Fah Hian's "Kingdom of the Dakshina," was probably a Pallava kingdom. The early Kadamba Princes appear to have established their power by defeating the Pallavas. Subsequently, Mrigesa Varma, a Kadamba sovereign, again conquered the Pallavas and Gangas, and "his eldest son, Ravi Varma, established himself and re-established his family at Palasika by defeating Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi, who was undoubtedly of the Pallava dynasty." This victory was, probably, obtained about the close of the 5th century A.D. "Kongudesa Rajjukul" states that Durvaniti, the King of Kongu, conquered Dravida (Kanchi) and the fourth in descent from him, Kongu Mahadhiraya III., again conquered it. Early in the 7th century, the Pallavas seem to have been driven out of their northern posses-

sions, the kingdom of Vengi, by Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, the first sovereign of the Eastern Chalukyas. About the same time Vinayaditya Satsyasrya or Pulekesi II., King of the Western Chalukyas says, in an inscription, that "he drove the Pallava sovereign behind the walls of Kanchi." * In the commencement, Vikramaditya I., successor of Pulekesi, seems to have been defeated by the Pallavas, but he afterwards overthrew them, stormed and captured their capital. From a perusal of the Chalukyan records, it appears that, immediately after his coronation, the Western Chalukyan King, Vikramaditya II. (A.D. 733 to A.D. 747), made war on the Pallavas, defeated their King, Nandi Pota Varma, killed him, and entered his capital Kanchi in triumph. Wilson states that in A.D. 788, Prince Hemasitala, of the Pallavas, finally expelled the Buddhists from the neighbourhood of Kanchi to Ceylon. From the inscriptions of the Rashtra Kutas, it appears that their King, Dhruva, humbled the pride of the Pallavas, and his successor Govinda II., according to an inscription dated A.D. 803-804, claims to have conquered Dantiga, the sovereign of Kanchi. At a later period we find "that the Kongu King, Gandadeva Maha Raya, boasts of having conquered the Pallavas again, but says that he afterwards made an alliance with them." In a grant assigned to Pallava Mulla Nandi Varma, it is stated that this King of the Pallavas, had wars with Udayana, King of the Saharas, Prithivivyaghra, King of Nishada, on the slopes of the Vindhya mountains, and the Pandyan King of Madura, but the results of these wars are not mentioned. In the 11th century, the Pallavas

* These numerous conquests of the Pallavas by their powerful neighbours, I suppose, have to be taken as temporary checks or defeats of the Pallava sovereigns, or their Generals by their enemies. Otherwise, it would be extremely difficult to conceive, how any nation can exist as politically independent, when its power was so often broken down, and its capital seized, and plundered. The "boasts" therefore contained in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas, Cholas, Pandyans, Hoysalas, and Kadambas that they defeated the "Kings of Kanchi" and entered their capital and plundered it, must be taken with great reservation.

were finally subdued by Adondai, the illegitimate son of Kulottunga Chola I. This conqueror appears to have defeated the Pallavas, crushed for ever their power, and annexed the whole of their territories to the Chola kingdom. "He is stated to have founded the city of Kanchi, and it seems quite possible he improved it." Kanchi then became the capital of the Chola Province called Tondamandalam.*

As with the Pandyans, so also with the Pallavas, a branch of them appears to have held territories, in and around, what may be called the present State of Mysore. An inscription dated about A.D. 450 near Anaji, Mysore Province, states that Krishna Varma Raja, evidently a Kadamba Prince, was ruinously defeated by the Pallava Raja Nanaksha. The site of this battle, Mr. Rice conjectures, may be assumed to be somewhere near Anaji, where it was found. So complete seems to have been the ruin of his country, that Sivananda Varma, the son, probably, of the defeated Kadamba sovereign, Krishna Varma Raja, although he had distinguished himself by acts of courage, resolved to retire from the world and gave himself up to a life of penance. His father, Krishna Varma Raja, must have died in the battle or was captured by the Pallavas and killed. Mr. Rice considers that these names are new to the lists of Kadambas and Pallavas.†

* A number of inscriptions are still seen in the old city of Kanchi and a careful examination of them may reveal many interesting facts relating to the Pallava sovereigns. It is absurd to say that Adondai founded the city of Kanchi. He came towards the latter part of the 11th century, and Kanchi has been mentioned as a large and flourishing city by many early writers. The power of the Pallavas seems to have been rudely shaken in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries, in their interminable wars with the neighbouring rising kingdoms, and it is possible to conceive that, when the Pallava capital was seized more than once, by the invading armies, it must have suffered a great deal at the hands of the plundering soldiers. As Tanjore was destroyed and restored, so also it may be imagined, that Adondai, after his conquest of the Pallavas, may have re-built it on a grander scale, and made Kanchi the capital of the Chola Province.

† This inscription is engraved in cave characters, and bespeaks of

At the beginning of the 9th century A.D., Nonamba or Nolamba became interchangeable with the name Pallava, as the Pallavas were ruling Nolambavadi Thirty Six Thousand. Pallava title was taken away from them by the Ganga King, Sri Purasha, on his gaining a decisive victory over them, and ever after assumed by the Gangas. A little later, we find the Rashtra Kutas, as the supreme rulers and the Pallavas governing certain provinces under them. After the mention of some names, an inscription brings us to A.D. 1022, in which it is stated, that Jagadeka Malla Nolamba Pallava Permmanadi was ruling under the Chalukya King Jagadeka Malla or Jayasimha Deva. The name of this Pallava Prince appears from another inscription as Udayaditya Deva, and the seat of his government in Kampili, which is on the Thungabhadra in the north-west of the Bellary District.*

Pallava Permmanadi appears to have been ruling various provinces in A.D. 1043. Another inscription brings us to A.D. 1045, and states that Nanni Pallava Permmanadi was ruling Kadambalige and other provinces, together with *Nidhi Nidhhana Nikshapam* and *Sahasra Dandam*. Mr. Rice's remarks in this connection may be quoted with advantage. He says—"these expressions recur in many of the inscriptions of this District (Chitaldroog) and may perhaps refer to (gold) mines. *Nidhi* and *Nikshapa* are always included in the "Asta Bhogya Tejaswamya or eight rights of full possession and refer to hidden treasure and under-

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its great antiquity. Further discoveries in the archæological field may reveal similar names. These Pallavas seem to have been subordinate to the Chalukyan monarchs in the commencement and to the Hoysalas after the latter attaind to power.

* The *Sasana* referred to bears the Saka 944 or A. D. 1022. I have read the original in Kanarese and find there, as the Prince's (Asana or ruling place) "Kapila" and not Kampili as suggested by Mr. Rice in his Introduction. Neither is there any reference to its situation on the bank of the Thungabhadra. The identity of "Kapila" cannot easily be guessed. Mr. Rice, perhaps, mistook *Ram* for *Ka* and read the passage as Kampili.

ground stores. But here they are described along with *Nidhana*, also meaning hidden treasure, as objects of the ruler's government and he appears to have been provided with a force of a thousand men to guard them."*

An inscription dated A.D. 1074 introduces Pallava Jayasimha Deva as the younger brother of the Chalukyan Emperor Vikramaditya Tribhavana Malla. Perhaps he was the brother of the Emperor by a Pallava mother. He uses all the imperial titles. The latest inscription bears the date A.D. 1205 and introduces a Pallava Prince Mache Deva as governing the Holalkerenad and the Honkunda Thirty under the Hoysala King. He could not have been a ruler of any importance. It seems that, with the overthrow of the Kanchi Pallavas, those who were in the Nolambavadi Districts seem also to have lost much of their political significance and only struggled for a century or more, to keep up their existence in a minor capacity under the Chalukyan and Hoysala conquerors.

Chalukyas.—These were almost contemporaries with the Cholas and Pandyans of the South, and played very important parts in the political drama of Southern India and Deccan. In the middle of the 4th century A.D. they seem to have attained great power in the Carnatic. The first date of this family, from a fine and still perfect inscription, is A.D. 489 by Pulikesi, the son of Jayasimha. The geneology of the family extends to 59 Princes, of whom 43 Kings reigned in Ayodhya, and the remaining 16 in the Carnatic. This would fix the rise of the Southern Chalukya family about 3rd century A.D.

* If really he was entrusted with the important function of guarding treasure in so public a manner, one thousand men would certainly have made a very poor force to defend the hidden stores, against the greed of the neighbouring Princes, who were surely in a position to surprise this little band and carry away the concealed wealth. It seems to be one of those superfluous expressions in the inscriptions to which we may not attach any significance at all.

The founder of the Carnatic dynasty appears to have been Hema Sena, who had wandered to the Deccan and Carnatic, and who, by marrying a Princess of the latter country, settled there. Their first capital was Nagavi, near the Bhima river, which is the principal tributary of the Krishna in the Bombay Presidency. And thence, as their power increased, they seem to have moved on to Kalyan, which subsequently became a famous city. In their inscriptions found at Yeeoor, the Chalukyas claim authority over the Cholas and the Pandyans and also on the Andhras, on the eastern side of the Peninsula. The Chalukyan Princes, for a time, as has been proved from other sources, were lords paramount in India. The Chalukyas were magnificent temple builders, and some of their most beautiful edifices in Western and Southern India bear their dynastic emblem, the boar.*

It is suggested that the Chalukyan Princes had taken a large part in the excavations at Ellora; and there is a fine series of cave temples at the village of Khurosa

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* Meadows Taylor mentions an inscription dated A.D. 489 by Pulikesi, son of Jayasimha. But where this inscription has been found is not quoted by him. In the "Lists of Inscriptions in Southern India" by Mr. Sewell, it appears that Pulikesi was the grandson of Jayasimha through his son Ranaraga. Pulikesi's son seems to have reigned in A.D. 567. The interval between these two dates should be noted.

Mr. Fleet writes (In. An. VIII, 105) that "it is a mistake to style these sovereigns as Chalukyas of Kalyanapura. Kalyan is nowhere mentioned in the earlier Chalukyan inscriptions, and even if it existed as a city at that time, it was certainly not a Chalukyan capital," Mr. Rice in "Epigraphia Carnatica," Vol. VI., mentions an inscription, dated about A. D. 1090 found in Koppa Taluq, which states that the Chalukyan monarch Tribhuvana Malla Deva was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom in Kalyanapura. I have seen the original inscription myself. There seem to be two Kalyans, one in the Bombay Presidency, which is stated to be "the capital of the Chalukyas in the early times," and another in the Nizam's Dominions, west of Beder, which is also stated to be the capital of the Chalukyas. The Western Chalukyas have been more or less associated with Kalyan or Kalyanapura and this is supported by Taylor's "Southern Medieval Dynasties." Mr. Fleet, apparently, had not seen those inscriptions which contained references to Kalyan, when he wrote those remarks.

not far from Kalyan, containing emblems of Sive entirely by the Chalukyas. The 4th and 5th centuries Manga- have been the periods of the greatest power churies, dynasty and they obtained victories over the Ch Puli- burnt the capital of the Pallavas (Kanchi) and extend luk- their military operations in Malwa and the outlying of districts. But during the 6th and 7th centuries, their power seems to have declined very gradually, under attacks by the Cholas from the South, the Yadavas from the North, and the Andhras from the East. Inscriptions of this dynasty are very numerous. Vijayaditya seems to have journeyed southwards bent on conquest and lost his life in a battle. His widow fled and took refuge in the house of a Brahmin and there gave birth to a posthumous son, Vishnu Vardhana. He is said to have acquired sovereignty, and to have made extensive conquests, strengthening his authority by marrying the daughter of the Pallava King of Kanchi. His son was Vijayaditya and his son was Pulikesi Vallabha. The grandsons of Pulikesi separated, and became ancestors, respectively, of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. The elder remained in the Western Deccan, probably at Kalyan, and the younger, Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, won for himself, by his sword, the sovereignty of the Eastern Coast, by his conquest of the Kings of Vengi.*

King Bijjala, perhaps, one of the feudatories of the Chalukyas, usurped the throne of Kalyan about the middle of the 12th century and raised a Brahmin, by name

* Mr. Sewell says "that this conquest was very important, not only because of its political result, but because it was a triumph of the Brahminical religion over Buddhism. The Vengi Kings were Buddhists and they seem to have succeeded the Buddhist Andhrabrityas, on the Krishna river while the Chalukyas were Vaishnavas." During the earlier centuries, the influence of Asoka—who turned a Buddhist—seems to have been extensively felt, and many of the royal houses embraced that sect. But with the rise of the Chalukyas, Buddhism seems to have declined before the progress of the Brahminical faiths.

to be the Minister and head of his army. , the founder of the Lingayet sect, preached the of Saivism and called his disciples Lingayets. Before levation to power, he resided at the court of Bijjala some time, having been introduced to the King by his ormer Minister. The King became enamoured of Basappa's beautiful sister Padma, married her, and elevated Basappa to the important position already mentioned above. Bijjala was a Kaluchurya Prince, subordinate to the Chalukyas, and established a new dynasty, which lasted for some short time and which was again overthrown by the Chalukyas when they regained their power. Basappa boldly proclaimed to his followers, that he was an incarnation of Siva and gathered around him an immense number of disciples from the lower classes. He wanted to usurp the throne and enforce his tenets by the force of arms; but his designs were miscarried and the King defeated him in a battle with great loss. Basappa fled from Kalyan and was subsequently put to death. After his death, people venerated him as a martyr, and his theistic tenets were preached with great effect by a nephew of his called Chennabasappa *.

After the death of Bijjala in A.D. 1166, the kingdom was immediately invaded and annexed by the Yadavas of Deoghur (Dowlatabad). Pulikesi, according to an inscription at Aihole, reduced Banavasi to subjection. It seems to have been the capital of an early branch of the Kadambas. He also appears to have conquered Vatapi, which Mr. Fleet identifies satisfactorily with Badami in

* Basappa and Chennabasappa are celebrated names in the Lingayet sect, and they seem to have been Kannada-speaking Brahmins, or Konkans. The two most famous works which support the Saivism of the Lingayet sect are named Basava Purana and Chennabasava Purana and they are attributed to Basappa and Chennabasappa, respectively. Portions from them are often prescribed as text books for the F.A. and B.A. Examinations in the Madras University, and they seem to be works of merit and literary excellence.

the Dharwar District. Kirtivarma I. claims to have entirely overthrown the Kadambas. His younger brother Mangalesa conquered Revatidwipa, the Mathangas, Kalachuries, and part of the Konkanas. Satsyasrya I., also called Pulikesi II., began to reign separately, as a Western Chalukyan Prince in A.D. 610. He seems to have been on of the most powerful Princes in the Chalukyan dyna He was not only a great conqueror, but also appear have been a far-sighted statesman. From various inscriptions it is learnt that he subdued the Mauryas of the Konkana, the Latas, the Malvas, and the Gurjaras. He also reduced the fortress of Pistapura, acquired the sovereignty of Maharashtraka, terrified the Kosalas and Kalingas, drove the Pallavas behind the walls of Kanchepura, and prepared to conquer the Cholas with a large army; but for some reasons not stated in the inscriptions, he seems to have given up this enterprise. He appears to have been a great warrior and we have a very interesting account of his kingdom, the manners and customs of the time, and the splendour of the sovereign, by Hiuen Tsiang, the great Chinese traveller. The Chalukyan supremacy seems to have been for a time interrupted by the confederacy of the Pallava Kings and their Viceroys or feudatories. But Vikramaditya I. appears to have defeated them and ascended the throne.

An inscription states that Devasakti, King of Sendrakas, was his vassal. His son Vinayaditya or Satsyasrya reigned from A.D. 681 to A.D. 696. He crushed the power of the Pallavas, and seized their capital. He appears to have possessed almost the whole of Deccan and to have extended his conquests southwards. After three or four insignificant sovereigns, during the time of Kirtivarma. II., A.D. 745 to A D. 757, the power of the Chalukyas seems to have collapsed, by the revolts of the feudatories and the conquests of the neighbouring powers. After nearly two centuries, Taila II. appears to have

revived the Western Chalukyan kingdom; but the territories governed by the new dynasty were greatly reduced in size. During the time of his grandson, Jaiyasimha III., the latter claims to have overthrown a confederacy of Malavas, and to have fought against Cheras and Cholas. H[illegible] son, Someswara Deva or Ahava Malla II., appears to [illegible] driven back the Cholas at first, but was subsequently [illegible]ated by the great Chola King, Kulottunga I. During his reign the Kadambas and other neighbouring Princes began to assume their independence. Vikramaditya VI. re-established the Saka, and was a powerful Prince. He seems to have fought many battles and to have been engaged in perpetual struggles, both with his relations at home and also with his enemies abroad He reigned from A.D. 1075 to A.D. 1126. From this period, the Chalukyan kingdom began to fall to pieces. Its power had been rudely shaken by Bijjala, the Kalachuri. Though Someswara IV. revived its falling power for a few years, the rise of the Kalachuries, the Ganapathi Kings of Warangal and the Hoysala Ballalas of Mysore, seems to have sealed the fate of the Western Chalukyas for nothing is heard of them after A.D. 1189.

Eastern Chalukyas.—It has already been stated that the two brothers, Satsyasrya and Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, separated and ruled over the Western and Eastern Chalukyas, respectively. Kubja marched to the East Coast, conquered and dethroned Salankayana, the King of Vengi, and established a separate dynasty which, gradually extending its conquests to the frontiers of Orissa, and fixing its capital at Rajamahandri, ruled Kalinga Desa for 400 years. According to the genealogies given by Mr. Sewell and Dr. Burnell, about 21 sovereigns seem to have reigned after Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, and this brings us to the early part of the 11th century A.D. Kubja Vishnu Vardhana probably separated from his brother, Satsyasrya, about the year A.D. 610, and the interval

between him and the appearance of his descendant, Vimaladitya, on the political stage of the Eastern Chalukyas—about four centuries—was ruled by about 20 sovereigns with varying successes in the history of their families. The marriage of Vimaladitya with Kundava, the daughter of Rajaraja, and the younger sister of Rajendra Chola, brought him into close contact with the conquering Cholas, and strengthened, perhaps, his position, for the time being, to some extent. His successor, Rajaraja of the Lunar dynasty, married Rajendra Chola's daughter Iromonanga in 1022; and their son was the first Chola King of Vengi. This was, perhaps, the famous Raja Narendra mentioned as the patron by Nannaya Bhatta in his Telugu Mahabharata. A great confusion apparently rules among the names of sovereigns who go by the name of Rajaraja and Rajendra. Sarangadhara is mentioned as the son of Raja Narendra, but we have also a son of Rajaraja Chola by that name. Raja Narendra is made to appear as the son of Vimaladitya and Kundava or Kundamba, daughter of Rajaraja and sister of Kulottunga I. But the lists introduce great confusion by making it appear, as if Raja Narendra is the father of Kulottunga. Sarangadhara, probably, was Choraganga, or Charanga, who was the founder of a new dynasty in Orissa, called the Gangavamsa Princes after the fall of the Kesari Kings.*

* If Vimaladitya married Kundava and begat Rajaraja or Raja Narendra, then Rajaraja Chola becomes the maternal grandfather of Raja Narendra. But Raja Narendra himself has been transformed into Rajaraja Chola and his children are given as Kulottunga, Ganganokonda Chola, Kundava, and Sarangadhara. Mr. Sewell, basing his authority on Dr. Burnell, says (*p.* 152, *Vol. I.*, *S. I. Ant.*) "that his (Vimaladitya's) successor Rajaraja of the Chundra Vamsa married (A. D. 1022) Iromonanga, daughter of Rajendra Chola, and their son Rajendra Chola was the first Chola ruler of Vengi and succeeded in A.D. 1064." Mr. Sewell further (*p.* 158 *ib.*) gives another list of Kings, under the Cholas, where Rajaraja Chola is made the father of Rajendra Chola or Kulottunga I. Ganganakonda Chola, who was seated on the throne of the Pandyans at Madura after their subjection, Kundava, who married Vimaladitya and Sarangadhara. Mr. Sewell so far has the frankness to observe rightly in this connection by saying

One thing seems to be certain that, with the intermarriages of the Eastern Chalukyas with those of the Southern Cholas, a great confusion in names arose, and the history of the Eastern Chalukyas thereafter was nothing more than the records of the Chola sovereigns. These intermarriages seem to have taken place during four or five succeeding generations, and the interests of both these kingdoms were naturally merged into one another, till all signs of separate existence were blotted out, and the two for a time became amalgamated into one strong dynasty. The Vengi kingdom became thenceforward, simply a northern province of the Chola territories, and lost its independence as a Chalukyan kingdom. The Eastern Chalukyas, during these four centuries, seem to have ruled peaceably over the whole of the Vengi and, perhaps, a part of the Kalinga countries. In the South and West, they do not appear to have been much disturbed, but they were constantly at war with the Gajapathy Kings of Orissa. At the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries, the Ganapathy sovereigns of Warangal were acquiring power in the territories of the Eastern Chalukyas, and they finally ejected these Chola-Chalukyas about the year A.D. 1228.*

Hoysala Ballalas.—This was an important branch of the Yadava rulers, which came into prominence in the commencement of the 11th century, and ruled independ-

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that "I confess it puzzles and perplexes me at present because it does not seem to tally with other contemporary statements." It will be remembered that Rajaraja Chola ascended the throne in A.D. 1022 and Kulottunga in A.D. 1064. In the Sanskrit verse quoted by Veerasalingam Puntulu, it is clearly stated that Rajaraja is the son of Vimaladitya of Chalukya Vamsa and his wife Kundama Devi, whoever she may have been. For a full discussion of this important question, see Appendix to this Volume.

* The intermarriages between the Cholas and Eastern Chalukyas gave room for great confusion in names, and until and unless a careful examination of the inscriptions is made, it is not possible to avoid this confusion and the ridiculous relationships, into which these Princes are thrown by the writers of their history.

ently till about the beginning of the 14th century, when its power seems to have been finally overthrown by the Mahomedan invaders from the North. During their greatest power, they held their capital at Dwarasamudra (*Halebedu*) in the Province of Mysore. They extended their conquests over a large area of the neighbouring territories, and built very fine temples. Those which were constructed during the time of King Vishnuvardhana at Belur and Halebedu are excellent specimens of Indian architecture.*

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* I have personally visited these temples, and admired their design and execution. At Belar, worship is still carried on, and the temple is in a good state of preservation. The Brahmins in the place related a tradition about Deccanacharya, the builder of the temple, which has a peculiar interest of its own. The tradition runs to the effect—"That the wife of this architect delivered a son, whose horoscope, the father cast, and found, according to his miscalculations, that his son was the fruit of adultery; that he kept the book of calculations on the shelf and that, without any intimation to his wife or relations, he went away to foreign countries; that, while travelling thus in various countries, he came to Belur and was greatly honored by King Vishnu Vardhana as an architect; that he planned and built the temple of Chennakesavara, and carved a beautiful stone image of Kesava to be placed on the shrine; that a few days before the religious ceremony of *Prana Prathista* (*fixing of idol in the temple*), a young man of sixteen summers appeared on the scene, and boldly averred before the royal assembly that the image of the god was made from an impure stone and that such an image should not be fixed on the sacred shrine; and that a quarrel arose between the old and the young architects, and that the latter cut open the navel of the idol and revealed to the astonished assembly, a little sand, water and a small frog in one of the layers of the black stone, out of which the image Kesava was carved; that the elders soon found out that the young man was the son of Deccanacharya; that the youth then pointed out his father's mistakes in the horoscopic calculations, and that, after reconciliation, the father and the son were richly rewarded by the King. It is believed by the people there that the temple of Halebedu is finer in design and execution than that of Belur; that it was the production of the combined labours and skill of the father and the son, and that thenceforward Deccanacharya used only his left hand in doing his work, having forfeited the use of the right hand when he swore that he would not use it, if the stone, out of which the idol was carved, was found faulty or impure. There are also some Jain Basties in which the black polished marble pillars are so neatly done that one can see his face clearly reflected. Ramanujacharya seems to have exerted great influence at this court, and the

The inscriptions of these Hoysalas as well as those of other dynasties in the South, contain graphic accounts of the prowess of their monarchs and the extensive conquests they seem to have made around their kingdoms. But one cannot easily give them much credit when they say that they conquered Nepal and other northern territories far away from their capitals. An inscription dated A.D. 1224 found in the famous temple at Harihara (Mysore) gives many important details which are of great interest as regards the origin and pedigree of these Hoysala sovereigns. From Yadu came the Yadavas. In this important branch was born Sala "who along with the Muni was worshipping the celebrated Vasanteke of Sasakapura, free from fear, in order to obtain all royal power, when lashing the ground with the end of its tail, emitting lines of sparks from its eyes, bursting with rage, its tongue hanging out like a river of flame, its teeth gleaming like flashes of

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famous Chennakesava temple at Belur stands as a monument of the great Acharya's spiritual supremacy over the powerful King Vishnu Vardhana. The ruins at Halebedu are very extensive and unmistakably bespeak of the existence of a grand old city. The name Halabedu in Canarese signifies *old ruins*, and it is possible that the city of Dwarasamudra itself might have been raised on the foundations of an already ruined old city. *Dwarawati* is different from *Dwaraka*. A Sanskrit verse runs thus—"*Ayodya Mathara Maya, Kasi Kanchi Avantika, Puri Dwaravathi, Chaiva, Saptaithy Moksha Dayenu.*" Ayodhya was the capital of Dasarath and Rama, Mathura was the birthplace and playground of Krishna. The ruins of Mayapuri are pointed out about three or four miles from Hardwar. Kasi or Benares is well known, so also Kanchi or modern Conjeevaram, near Madras. Avanti was the capital of Avantica, the country about Central India and Malwa, which was once the capital of Vikramaditya, the founder of the celebrated era. The author of Brihat Jataka and Samhita, says that his father and himself were residents of Kapitha, a town in Avantica. *Dwarawathi* has not been identified and some say that it was the Dwaraca of Krishna, which was submerged into the sea after his disappearance from the world's drama. Residence in these cities, it is said, will enable a person to secure heaven. If Hoysalas were Yadavas and Dwarawathi was their capital, it is reasonable to suppose that it was once a flourishing city, and, on the loss of power of the older Yadavas, it went into ruins, and was revived again after the second generation of Yadavas rose to power and wealth.

lightning, a tiger suddenly sprang forth, unfettered, of astonishing aspect, roaring with terrific noise; on the *Muni* saying Hoysala (*Strik Sala*); that tiger he hit it with the Sele (cane), killed it and became Hoy Sala.*

The great grandsons of Hoysala appear to have been Ballala, Biti Deva and Udayaditya. Biti Deva was the famous Vishnuvardhana. Narasimha was the son of Lakmi Devi and Vishnuvardhana. Ballala II. came from him and he seems to have been a great and powerful Prince, who made many conquests, extended his territories, and must naturally have been the terror of his enemies. The King of Sevanu came with a large army of 200,000 infantry armed with thunderbolts (*suthanavasi*) and 12,000 cavalry; but Ballala seems to have defeated him, with great slaughter, and drove the enemies beyond the Krishna River. There appears to have been a powerful combination of neighbouring Princes against him, but he seems to have been able enough to break the confederacy and to have captured the forts within Erambarage, the honored Virata's forts, Gutti, Bellutagi, Rattipalli, Sorayatur and Kurugod.†

* Mr. Rice (*E. C., Vol. VI., p. 14 Intr.*) says that "Sasakapura or Sosevur has been identified with Angadi in the S. of Mudgere Taluq." This is the scene of the incident between Sala and the tiger, related in many of their inscriptions. The temple of Vasantika Devi, at which the encounter occurred, is still represented by the present Vasantamma temple, which enjoys a great local reputation. "Angadi" in Canarese means a shop or market. It appears that the Hoysalas, to start with, were a family of Hill Chiefs in the Western Ghauts of Mysore, and gradually they extended their conquests and assumed, subsequently, royal titles. During the time of the Vijayanagar rulers, the names appear to have been changed for various political reasons. We have still the survival of such names in Uppenangadi, Bellattungadi, *etc.*, in S. Kanara.

† Virutana Kote seems to be Hangul, about the siege of which we have already made a reference. Gutti is a strong hill fortress in the Anantapur District, which, during the time of Lord Clive and Hyder Ali, was held by a famous Mahratta Chief called Morari Roa. The word in the original Kannada inscription dated S. 1145 Swabhanu (A.D. 1224), is "Suthanayoiasane," which may mean a fire-arm. It shows that early in the 13th century fire-arms were in common use.

His son was Narasimha II., who is said to have defeated Vikramapala and Pavasa in one direction, and made in another direction, Kadavaraya, Magara, and Pandya King roll on the ground. Pleased with the Chola, he placed the crown on his head, and set up a pillar of victory in Setu. He seems to have been ruling in his capital of Dwarasamudra.*

The Hoysala Princes must have been probably for some time feudatories of the Kalachuris, whom they succeeded on the downfall of their kingdom. The founder of this dynasty has been given a long reign from A.D. 984 to A.D. 1043. This reign of 59 years, however, is not so long a period as to make us disbelieve it as entirely a fiction. Vinayaditya succeeded probably Sala in 1047 and ruled up to 1076. His eldest son Ballala I. seems to have overcome the Santara King Jagadeva.†

* Mr. Rice says that Erambarage seems to be Yelburga, in the Nizam's Dominions. The other places are in the Bellary and Dharwar Districts. Setu is of course Rameswara. Who were Kadava and Magara Rayas, it is difficult to say. There is a place called Kadaba, near Tumkur, containing a large tank. This might have been ruled by a powerful chieftain who was called Kadava or Kadaba Raya, and whom the Ballalas might have conquered. But some writers speak of Kadavas as Pallava Kings. Magara may have been put for Magadha as most of the Princes of the Southern dynasties were descendants of the Magadha rulers.

It is to this Vira Narasimha II., son of Ballala II. and Padma Devi, that the building of the beautiful temple at Harihara has been ascribed, under his able Minister and councillor Polalava. The temple was adorned with 115 golden kalasas. But none of them seems to be in existence now. All these kalasas perhaps were removed by those who were searching after gold, and who had little faith in the powers of god Harihara. Kalasa in Sanskrit means a globe-like metallic ornamental thing usually placed on the towers of the Hindu temples, and also on the palaces of important Kings. It is generally plated with gold or gilt.

† Ballala I. seems to have ruled from A.D. 1101 to A.D. 1104, and he must have died about this time. But who the Santara King at that time was, it is difficult to say. Jagadeva is said to have laid siege to Warangal in A.D. 1162 according to the Hanumakonda inscription of that date, and was repulsed by the garrison. If Ballala I. defeated Jagadeva in A.D. 1101, Jagadeva then must have been a very old man at the siege of Hanumakonda. We want further light thrown on the Santara Kings. There might have been two Jagadevas for ought we know.

His brother, Vishnu Vardhana, was also a great conqueror, and appears to have been converted into Vaishnavism by the famous Ramanujacharya, the founder of the Visistadwaitha sect. This Prince seems to have reigned from A.D. 1117 to A.D. 1137. According to Mr. Rice's inscriptions, this King ruled from A. D. 1104 to A. D. 1141. His son was Vira Narasimha I., who ruled from A.D. 1141 to A. D. 1171. Mr. Sewell says that he reigned from A.D. 1141 to A.D. 1191. His son was Vira Ballala II., who defeated the Kalacharyas and assumed all the royal titles. Inscriptions of his reign are found up to A. D. 1224. His successor was Narasimha II., who appears to have been defeated by the Yadavas of Devagiri and lost some territory. His successor was Someswara. An inscription dated A.D. 1252 states that he resided in Vikramapura, a place he had established in the Chola country. An elaborate inscription dated A.D. 1268 brings us to Narasimha III. His great Minister and General was Soma, who was a Sudra, born of Brahma's feet, but whose valour is much extolled and whose charities have been described as boundless. The inscription at Somanathapura dated A. D. 1276 gives the genealogy of the Hoysalas as well as that of their great Minister Soma, who built the temple of Somanathapura, which is "justly celebrated as one of the best remaining temples of the Chalukyan style." *

* I have personally seen this beautiful temple situated near the bank of the Cauvery about six or seven miles from T. Narsipur in the Mysore District. The temple is not of grand or imposing dimensions, but the architect seems to have lavished all his ingenuity in making it as elegant and magnificent as possible. The agrahar seems to have gone into ruins not long after its foundation or revival. There are three more small Jain temples about a mile from this place. Splendid artistic taste and skill have been shown, specially in the carving of the central domes. The whole is built of stone, without the use of any mortar; and a few old men belonging to an adjacent village gave me a tradition about the builder, the famous Deccanachari. All temples of the elegant Chalukyan style are attributed to one Deccanachari and his son, but who they were and from what place they originally came is not clearly known. His masterly hand and design, however, are visible in a large number of temples, and it is possible that

Then came Vira Ballala Deva III., who seems to have continued up to the invasion of his territories by the Mahomedan conquerors from the North. In an inscription dated A.D. 1291 ascribed to this Prince, we find the King setting at right some irregularities which had sprung up in the performance of certain ceremonies in the Kirita Narayana temple at Rajarajapura (*Talkad*). In A.D. 1310 Malik Kafur, the irresistible Mahomedan General, invaded Dwarasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas and was completely successful. Ballala seems to have been captured, but was released afterwards and allowed to retain a nominal power over his territories. An inscription dated A.D. 1368 states that this King died fighting against the *Turukas* (Mussalmans) with Kanakaya in the field of battle in A.D. 1342 in the capture of Beribi. This nominal rule of the Hoysalas continued up to A.D. 1327, when a second Mahomedan invasion completed the destruction of the Hoysala kingdom. It is probable that the Princes of the Ballala dynasty managed to retain the vestiges of power for even some years later, for we read of the rebel nephew of Mohomed Toglak, Baha-ud-din, flying to the Hoysala King at Dwarasamudra or Tonnur for protection in A.D. 1337. An inscription dated A.D. 1341 is ascribed to the Hoysala King Ballala III., and we find another grant made by his son, Ballala IV. or Vajraswara, in the year A.D. 1343. This was seven years after the establishment of the Vijayanagar dynasty in A.D. 1336. This seems to

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a great architect and his greater son may have had a hand in the construction of many of these famous temples. The local tradition runs—that, when the architect came to build the temple of Somanathpura, he was specially honored by the Minister, and this raised the bile of the local workmen. There was a strike and the workmen explained in Canarese—"*Avana Tootu Navoo Muchach Beku*," meaning that his *holes* (defects) must be covered by us, as the mason depends upon those who work in cement, to cover up the holes or chinks between the stones, he builds with. This remark irritated the famous artist and he built the temple so skilfully that mortar has not been used in the whole of that building, including even the roofing.

have been the last grant issued by the Hoysalas, as they did not continue to maintain the remnants of their power much longer.*

In the last days of their existence, the Hoysala Princes seem to have removed their capital to Tonnur, near Mysore. It is possible, says Mr. Sewell, "that the Hoysala Prince, Ballala Deva of Dwarasamudra, sent a contingent to help the great Hindu confederation that stemmed the current of Mussalman successes and checked for two centuries their advance southwards."

The Ballalas appear to have occupied a place, as it were, between the Chalukyas and the Cholas, and the inscriptions show that they had to maintain constant warfare with both of them.

They do not seem to have been in the possession of independent power for a long period. A Chalukyan record commemorates a great victory over the Ballalas near Mudgol, when the Ballalas had invaded the kingdom.

Temples erected by both dynasties, bearing their emblems, the boar of the Chalukyas, and the tiger of the Hoysalas, are found, in the same localities, thereby denoting their alternate possession of the country. At first, the Ballala capital seems to have been at Lakhoondy, in Dharwar; but they appear later on to have retired southwards to Dwarasamudra, in Mysore. They were Jains in the beginning; but, in the time of King Vishnuvardhana, they changed their faith and became Vaishnavas. A short history of the Kadambas, the Yadavas, the Ganapathies of Warangal and the Kings of Orissa must be given here, for, without it, the sketch of the South Indian

* It has already been shown that the Chief of Anagondi gave shelter first to Baha-ud-din, and when he found it hopeless to defend the fugitive Mahomedan, he sent him on to the Hoysala Prince. As Anagondi was found to be formidable, the Sultan of Delhi had to return himself to Deccan to capture his troublesome nephew and put him to death in a most barbarous fashion.

dynasties will not be complete. As the ancient dynasties were fast dying out, facilities for the establishment of the new were afforded, and the early Vijayanagar rulers were keen enough to turn them to their own advantage and aggrandisement of power.

Kadambas.—The Kadamba family certainly appears as one of the most ancient of the Southern dynasties. They were sovereigns of Banavasi or Vanavasi, the ancient capital, on the Sorab frontier. Banavasi, as well as its ruler, Trinetra Kadamba, has been mentioned in Ptolemy in A.D. 168. A memorial inscription of the family recounts succession up to, or contemporary with, the Chalukyas, but claims to have been independent at the period of the establishment of the power of the Chalukyas. To the founder of the family Mayuravarma or Mayurasarma is attributed the introduction of Brahmins and the Brahmin faith into the Southern territories. Banavasi, and large tracts of the surrounding country, formed their kingdom; but their possessions extended to the sea coast, west and south for a considerable distance. Their inscriptions are traceable in temples and other buildings, and it was no doubt, owing to their maritime position, that they became known to the early Greek navigators. There were three families under this name, the most ancient being called Kadambas and the other two Kâdambâs.*

A fine inscription discovered at Talugunda, in Shikarpur taluq (Mysore), in A.D. 1894, contains a statement of facts from which we learn that there was a family of very devout Brahmins, who were Haritaputrus of the Manavyagotra. They had planted a Kadamba tree near their home, and took special care of it. Hence they acquired later on its name together with its qualities. Ma-

* Messrs. Fleet and Sewell think that there were three divisions of this family, and another fourth, probably connected with this, ruled at Goa and Halsi (*Palsika*). Vajaiyanti, Banavasi, Halsi and Hangal are mentioned as their capitals.

yurasarma, a member of that family, went to Kanche with his guru to complete his studies. A dispute arose about the Pallava horses or stables, and he was so enraged at the insult offered to him, that he determined to become a Kshatrya, and learn the art of using weapons with a view to take revenge upon the Pallava Kings. He fled to a forest, trained himself completely in the military knowledge of the day, collected large numbers of followers, invaded the Pallava country, and defeated their King. The Pallavas made peace with him, recognised him as King, and gave him the sovereignty of a territory extending from the western ocean to the borders of Malwa. The sixth in descent from Mayurasarma (Mayuravarma of tradition) is Shantivarma, under whose auspices this inscription was written by one Kubja. This sovereign probably ruled about the latter part of the 5th century. "The principal centre of Kadamba sovereignty was in the north-west of Mysore." These Kadambas seem to have lost their independence on being conquered by the Chalukyas in the 6th century A.D.; but there were branches of this ancient royal house, which were ruling in different parts of the country, as feudatories, for many centuries later, down to the time of the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire, in the 14th century. The Cholas, the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas appear to have been their overlords.*

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* See Mr. Rice's Intr. to Vol. IV. E. C.

There is a popular tradition to the effect that a Brahmin girl of this family was visited by Siva under a Kadamba tree close to their home, and the offspring from this celestial connection was Mayuravarma, the founder of the dynasty, who took his surname from the tree under which he was born. His dispute must have been with the Pallava King or Princes, and we may easily infer that this Brahmin was roughly treated by them, probably on account of his great ignorance on martial matters, which irritated him and made him swear that, although he was a Brahmin, he would convert himself into a Kshatrya. With the rage and determination of a Viswamitra or Chanikya, this Brahmin youth ran to a forest and proceeded to collect a powerful band of outlaws upon exactly similar

Yadavas.—The history of Vijayanagar has little to do with the Yadavas of Devagiri; but as there were fierce fights between these and their cousins of Dwarasamudra, Hoysala Ballalas, both these branches of the Yadavas, in a way, prepared the ground for the appearance of a grand power, on their ruins, and further they broke each others stability, and greatly weakened the powers of the neighbouring dynasties by their internal wars. The founder of this dynasty seems to have been one Hemjee, who probably flourished in the 5th century B.C. He was a shepherd; but we have no satisfactory evidence to accept the genealogies which are claimed by the Yadavas, as giving accounts of their descent from Hemjee or from later Princes, till we come up to the 11th and 12th centuries. An inscription dated A.D. 1190 states that the Yadavas conquered the western portions of the Chalukyan territories. Victories are also recorded over the Ballalas of Dwarasamudra. On the fall of the Kalachuris, parts of their northern territories were appropriated by the Yadavas, who eventually settled at Devagiri. Yadava King Singhana I. seems to have subdued the King of Karnataca, in the latter part of the 11th or the commencement of the 12th century.*

In Bhillama's life time, his son Jaitugi appears to have been defeated by the Hoysala King, Ballala II., in a battle fought at Lakhoondi, in the Dharwar district. A later inscription states that Jaitugi slew the King of Thrikalinga

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lines, on which so many great conquerors of humble origin based their tactics, and succeeded in founding new dynasties.

* Mr. Fleet identifies him as Hoysala King, Vishnu Vardhana. If this is true, it must have happened after A.D. 1117, as Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana did not ascend the throne before that date. But Bhillama, grandson of Singhana I., appears to have reigned from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1191. The interval for Mallugi, son of Singhana I., is thus made to appear as 60 or 70 years. Some inscriptions give Vishnu Vardhana earlier dates for his succession, and from a careful examination of the inscriptions Mr. Rice conclusively proves that the date of Vishnu Vardhana's accession to the throne of Dwarasamudra as A.D. 1104.

and seized his kingdom. This may be apparently a Chola King or his Viceroy in his northern possessions. Kulottunga II. seems to have reigned over the country till about the year A.D. 1158. Other inscriptions about the Krishna and Godavery rivers contain references to a Chola Prince named Rajendra reigning till about A.D. 1194. After this, and till the appearance of the Ganapathy sovereigns of Warangal on the scene, we hear nothing about any sovereigns there. It is therefore most probable that the Chola King or the Viceroy of Telingana (*Thrikalinga*) was conquered by a Yadava sovereign between the years A. D. 1191 and A.D. 1209—the period over which Jaitugi seems to have reigned. These Yadavas were also called Sevunas.

Their dominions seem to have been mostly to the north of the Godavery, corresponding in great part with the modern Khandesh. They had the flag of a golden Garuda.

Singhana II. seems to have been a powerful Prince, during whose time, A. D. 1209 to A.D. 1247, the Yadavas extended largely their territories. He claims to have conquered the Kings of Telingana, Kalachuris and the Andhras. There are many inscriptions of his reign which prove that the kingdom had considerably enlarged in size.

His grandson, Krishna, succeeded Singhana. His Viceroy in the Northern Provinces seems to have been the son of a General, who is credited with the conquests over the Rattas, the Kadambas, of Konkana, the Pandya, who shone at Gutti, and the Hoysala King, and to have set up pillars of victory near the Cauvery. Ramachendra forcibly ousted Amana in A.D. 1271, who seems to have been the son of Mahadeva, probably an usurper. He ruled from A.D. 1271 to A.D. 1309. He seems to have been successful in a war against the Hoysala Ballalas. His kingdom

extended over all the dominions in the central and southern parts of the Bombay Presidency.

In A.D. 1294 he was attacked by a predatory band of Mahomedan horsemen, and was defeated. He was driven into the fort and the town was pillaged by the marauders. He bought off the invaders and was about to conclude a peace when his son, Sankara, advanced with a large army to relieve the capital. After desperate fighting, the Mahomedans were finally victorious, and Ramachendra had to make further concessions before the invaders could be induced to retire.

In A.D. 1306 Ramachendra refused to pay the tribute, and Ala-ud-din, who sat on the throne of Delhi, after he murdered his uncle, sent his famous General Malik Kafur with 100,000 horse to reduce the Deccan. Devagiri was defenceless before this powerful army and Ramachendra was captured and sent to Delhi, where he was received honorably, and treated liberally. He was subsequently restored, and he continued to pay tribute till his death.

In A.D. 1309 Ramachendra hospitably entertained Malik Kafur on his march against Warangal. Sankara, who succeeded Ramachendra on the throne of Devagiri, refused to pay the tribute, and Malik Kafur again marched into the Deccan in A.D. 1312, seized Sankara and put him to death. He ravaged the Deccan and took his residence at Devagiri. He was summoned soon after to Delhi, and Haripala, son-in-law of Ramachendra, stirred up the Deccan to arms, expelled a number of the Mahomedan garrisons and asserted his power over the former territories of Devagiri. In A.D. 1318 Mubarik, who sat on the throne of Delhi, marched in person against Haripala, captured and decapitated him and set up his head over the gate of Devagiri. The dynasty of the Devagiri Yadavas ended thus, and we hear no more about them.

It will be seen from a careful perusal of the history of the ancient dynasties in the Deccan and Southern India, that the constant and ruinous wars, which these several dynasties maintained among themselves, and against other invaders, had very considerably weakened their constitutions and unfitted them for exercising, with any show of vigour, control over their own territories, or over those which were brought under their subjection by right of conquest or forcible annexation. The fabric of the ancient royal stock of Kings was too much rotten and shattered by old age and interminable wars, to afford any real scope for proper military organisation or able generalship. The political body was feeble and bloodless, the sinews of war had wasted away, and it was therefore thoroughly unfitted to stand the rush of fierce Mahomedan conquerors from the North, amongst whose armies, there was a noble spirit of union, a great religious zeal to conquer and punish the infidels, and an able generalship to harmonize the whole into one solid body and lead them against any odds without fear, without hesitation, and with irresistible valour, before which no feeble and half-hearted combination of the old Hindu Princes could hope to withstand, with any chances of success.

The growth of the early Vijayanagar empire, under these favourable political conditions, seems to have been simply phenomenal. The early Princes of the new dynasty, which sat on the throne of Vijayanagar, appear to have been far-sighted, warlike, and to have been in possession of inexhaustible treasures. Their armies, infused with new political vigour, and led by able and courageous Princes and Generals, were generally successful, and they extended their military operations over a large portion of the Deccan and the whole of Southern India. The sovereigns of Vijayanagar were easily enabled to overthrow the semblance of royal power which many of the craven Princes of the ancient dynasties were struggling to maintain

amidst their mutual jealousies and distrusts. Vijayanagar ruled supreme for nearly two centuries and-a-half, until its power, in turn, was rudely broken by the combined forces of the four Mahomedan States in the Deccan, in the battle of Talikota, in A.D. 1565.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF ORISSA AND WARANGAL BEFORE THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Kings of Orissa.—The kingdoms of Orissa and Warangal do not belong to Southern India, but the rulers of Vijayanagar had much to do with them, and a short sketch of these dynasties becomes, therefore, highly necessary to understand properly the annals of Vijayanagar. Orissa is one of those old countries, whose rulers claim direct descent from the Pandu Princes and, if any reliance can be placed upon their documentary and traditional accounts, they seem to have kept on their power for several thousands of years through very great political convulsions. The chronicles of Orissa are based upon the "palm-leaf" record of the great temple at Jagannath, as digested and collected in the "Purushottama Chandrika" by Babu Bhavana Charana Bandhopadyaya. Traditions, current all over Orissa, cannot be of any special value, inasmuch as they lack the stamp of historical truth. But they have also been considered in the preparation of these sketches, so far as they have been supported by direct or indirect recorded references. Northern India, as yet, has not shown as many inscriptions of its royal families as Southern India has done, and this want, perhaps, may be cured in course of time, by excavations and other archæological researches. In the great political convulsions which shook India from one side to the other, the disturbances were too great and too frequent for the royal families or their literary writers

to preserve, in any thing like order, their records of the ruling or invading dynasties and the principal events connected with their history.

Mr. Stirling's Essays and his posthumous papers, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, also contain lists and references of the Kings of Orissa, from the time of Yudhistara, the eldest of the Pandava Princes, who ruled the Indian Empire, after the great war of Mahabharata, for about 12 years.*

The authorities quoted above give the reigns of sovereigns, whose periods extend beyond, what may be called, the historical standard of accuracy, till we come up to the 1st century after Christ, when these fabulously long periods are forsaken, and normal periods are introduced. About 11 successors are named after Dharma Raja, to whom are ascribed these extraordinary lengths of periods, and they may be quoted here with a view to show the nature of the materials, out of which one is asked to cull his information for the compilation of one's history of India. Parikshat succeeded Yudhistara and ruled for 731 years. Janamajaya succeeded him and reigned for 551 years. After him ruled Sankara Deva for 400 years, and he was succeeded by a powerful Prince called Gautam Deva, who extended the kingdom of Orissa and ruled over it for 370 years. Then we have the interesting Prince, Mahendra Deva, who built Raja Mahandri, made it his capital and ruled over it for 215 years.†

* *See* Dr. W. W. Hunter's Orissa, App. VII. Stirling's Essays in As. Rs Vol. XV. and his papers in B. A. S. Journal, Vol. VI, Part. II.

† The commencement of Kaliyug is stated by Hindu astronomers to have begun 5,005 years ago (A.D. 1905) or about 31 centuries before Christ. The reigns of Yudhistara 12 years, Parikshit 731, Jairamajaya 551, Sankara 400, and Gautama Deva 370, will give a total of 2,064 years. Christ's birth may be taken to be in the year 3100 of Kaliyug. Then comes the reign of Mahandra Deva, which extends over 215 years. If a guess is to be made about the probable period, during this long reign, in which the King founded the city of Raja Mahendra, it may be taken to be about the middle or end

His successor was Ishta Deva, who ruled for 134 years, and he was succeeded by Sevaka Deva, who held his sway for 150 years. Then came Bajra Deva, who reigned for 117 years. During the reign of this monarch, the Yavanas from Marwar, Delhi and Babul Desa invaded Orissa, but were finally repulsed by the King.* His successor was Narasimha Deva, who ruled for about 115 years. A Prince from the North invaded his kingdom, but he was defeated, by Narasimha. This monarch claims to have reduced large portions of the territories belonging to the Delhi sovereigns. He also excavated the tank at Dantan, near Jaleswar, which exists even unto this day. Mr. Stirling calls this Prince Sarasankha. His successor was Man Krishna Deva, who ruled for 122 years. He had to fight many hard battles in order to drive off the Yavanas who came from Cashmere and invaded his territories. He is also called Hansa. Bhoja Deva succeeded him and reigned for 127 years from 184 B.C. to 57 B.C.† He was a very powerful and warlike monarch, who conquered all India, and drove back the Yavanas, who came from the North. Then came the two reigns of Vikramaditya and his brother Sakaditya, who ruled for 135 years, from 57 B. C. to A. D. 78. Vikramaditya was a powerful emperor, a great conqueror and a special patron of science and literature. He subdued all India, or the major portion of it, and was the first great emperor who succeeded in establishing an era after his name, called the *Samvat*, which is prevailing all over

of his reign. This roughly brings us to about eight or nine centuries before Christ for the foundation of this ancient city. Yudhistara ruled in Hastinapura; but his successors, probably some descendants, seem to have been driven out of it and founded a branch in Orissa.

* Babul Desa probably represented Iran (Persia) and Cabul and the Yavanas from these places must have been different from those who came from Java.

† The dates given for these sovereigns, by the palm-leaf records, differ from those which are mentioned by Stirling. But they perfectly coincide with those which are ascribed to Bhoj Deva.

Northern India. He is said to have been slain by a rebel conqueror from Southern India, called Salivahana, the establisher of another era after his name, which is prevalent all over the Indian Peninsula, south of the Godavery. Some writers identify Sakaditya with Salivahana, but their authorities for this statement have not been satisfactorily quoted.*

In Taylor's history, the following account of this great Prince is given which will be quoted for ready reference. He says—"Vikramaditya, a Prince of the Andhra dynasty, which both at Magadha, to which it succeeded, and at Warangal, south of the Godavery river, which it founded, rose to great power and ruled over Malwa and Central India as well as Magadha for several centuries. The commencement of the reign of Vikramaditya 56 B. C. was established as a Hindu era and is still continued. He was a very popular and enlightened ruler, and at his court literature was highly patronised, many of the best Hindu plays, poems and philosophical works, having been there composed. An authentic event connected with Vikramaditya's

* It is really puzzling to read the accounts of these early Princes, given by the different European writers. Often they are so contradictory in their statements of facts, that they, not only confuse themselves, but also confuse the readers who have to gather their information from them. The materials for Indian history, are sufficiently confusing to any healthy mind and elements of further confusion, should be carefully avoided.

The long periods, during which the successors of Dharma Raja are said to have ruled, may, perhaps, be interpreted to mean the several branches of the Lunar Princes who established fresh dynasties on the throne of Orissa, and who may have been collaterally descended from the first Princes of the Pandu line, unless we mean to take these fabulous periods literally, which it is not in the province of history to believe, unless corroborated by very substantial evidence from thoroughly independent sources. From Vikramaditya, the sovereigns of Orissa assume more normal periods of rule, and they may be tolerably accurate Yudhishtara held his court at Hastinapura. But during the time of his successors, the capital may have been changed into some city in Orissa and thence to Rajamahandri. Later on we find that their capital was changed again to Jajpur. There seems to be great confusion in the names of Vikramaditya and the different periods during which that Prince was said to have ruled.

reign was an invasion of Western India by the Tue Che or Huns about 26 B. C. They were defeated in a great battle by King Vikrama, but do not appear to have left the country, as they are traceable as holding Western India for 248 years afterwards."*

After the mention of five successors to Sakaditya, we are introduced to the reign of a Prince mamed Sobhan Deva, who ruled only for four years from A.D. 319 to A.D. 323. During this reign Rakta Babu, a Yavana Prince, invaded Orissa and defeated the King, who fled to the jungles with the images of Jagannath, his brother Balarama and his sister Subhadra, and buried them there in a cave at Sonpur. This Prince perished in the jungles, and his successor was put to death by the Yavanas, who were now firmly seated on his throne. The Yavanas ruled in their newly-conquered territories for nearly a century and-a-half.†

After this period of foreign occupation for nearly a century and-a-half, a powerful Prince of the ancient line, by name Yayati Kesari, fought against these usurpers, defeated them and founded a new branch called the Kesari or Lion dynasty. He reigned for 52 years, brought back the buried

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* Taylor says that Warangal was founded on the south of the Godavery, by Vikramaditya or by one of the members of the Andhra dynasty. The sentence is involved and not clear. No references are available to show that the Vikramaditya dynasty was established in Orissa; although it is not difficult to imagine, that a branch of this royal family may have established its capital near Puri (Jagannath).

† According to Mr. Stirling, these Yavanas were Buddhists.

It is difficult to find any authority for this statement by Stirling, as we have had no references to any Yavanas who embraced Buddhism. Perhaps the race of Yavanas referred to here, may be a colony of Javanese conquerors, who invaded the East Coast, and who, finding probably a weak monarch on the throne of Orissa, overthrew him and seized his territories, ruling there for nearly a century and-a-half. Buddhism had already made great progress in these Oceanic Islands, and they may have been referred to by the term Yavanas or Javanas. Even now there are extensive remains of Hindu and Buddhistic temples in Java. The island of Bali, which is close to Java, contains ruins of Hindu temples and its inhabitants still profess Hinduism—a significant fact to be noted.

images of the gods Jagannath, Balaram and Subhadra, to Puri and built the temple-city to Siva at Bhuvanaswar. He established his capital at Jajpur. The fourth successor of this Prince called Alabu Kesari, completed the temple of Bhuvanaswar, and ruled for 54 years. He was also called Lalat Indra Kesari. The "palm-leaf" records give the names of 40 Princes as having ruled after this monarch. *

A Prince named Kundala Kesari, who ruled from A. D. 811 to A.D. 829 built the ancient temple of Markundaswara in Puri. Nripa Kesari, ruled from A.D. 941 to A.D. 953. He was a warlike and ambitious Prince, who founded the city of Cuttack. His successor was Makara Kesari, who ruled from A.D. 953 to A.D. 961. He claims to have built the long and massive stone revetment, with a view to protect the city of Cuttack from the inundations of the Mahanady.†

Madhava Kesari who reigned from A.D. 971 to A.D. 989 was alleged to have built the fortress of Sarangarh, on the southern bank of the Katjuri river, opposite the city of Cuttack. Matsya Kesari, who ruled from A.D. 1034 to A.D. 1050, claims to have built the great bridge across the Atharanala, at the entrance to Puri, which may be seen even at this day. The Queen of Salina Kesari, appears to have built the Natya Mandir or dancing hall, of the temple of Bhuvanaswar about the end of the 11th century. The fourth in succession from the above Prince was Suvarna

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* Stirling does not give the names of the other Princes, except those of nine and calls their periods unimportant. He merely says that 32 Princes ruled for a period extending over 455 years.

† I have gone over these places personally. The wall is still there and speaks of the prudence and foresight of this Prince. The Mahanady, although its course is not very long, assumes great breadth near Cuttack and the quantity of water, discharged into the sea, by this river, is simply voluminous. This wise provision of the former rulers made many centuries before, has been a special boon to the inhabitants of this ancient city.

Stirling attributes the construction of this dam to Markat Kesari and assigns A.D. 1006 as its date.

Kesari, who reigned from A.D. 1123 to A.D. 1132 and who died childless. Here the Kesari dynasty ended and it was succeeded, by the royal branch introduced into Orissa, by Choragunga, a Prince from the South, about whom reference has already been made in a previous chapter. Another account, however, runs to the effect, that a powerful officer of the Orissa Court, by name Basudeva Bahampati, was disgraced in the royal presence and driven out. Feeling this insult keenly, this officer went to the Carnatic, instigated the Chola Prince Chora-Gunga (Suranga), and brought him with a sufficient army. Chora Gunga invaded Orissa, captured Cuttack and established there a new dynasty called the Ganga Vamsa. *

His successor Gangeswar ruled Orissa from A.D. 1152 to A.D. 1166. He is said to have been a great conqueror, like his father, and his conquests extended from the Ganges to the Godavery and to have included five royal cities, Jajpur, Chaudwar, Amaravati, Chatna and Biranasi or Cuttack.†

The fourth from this sovereign was Anang Bhim Deo, who ruled from A.D. 1175 to A.D. 1202. He seems to have been a great statesman, and well informed in the internal administration of his kingdom. He made a survey of his whole kingdom measuring it with reeds and built the present beautiful temple of Jagannath. He was one of the greatest Princes who ruled over the kingdom of Orissa and his memory is still fondly cherished by his numerous improvements in his State. The third from him was Langulia Narasimha, who reigned from A.D. 1237 to A.D. 1282. He is stated to have built the great sun temple at Kanarak on the sea or what is commonly known as the Black Pagoda.

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* Choragunga reigned for 20 years on his newly-established throne, and his memory is still preserved by the name of a quarter in Puri city, called the Charang Sai. He also constructed a tank in the town which goes under his name.

† He seems to have committed some heinous wrong—what it is has not been stated—and as a penance for it, he appears to have excavated a beautiful tank called Kansalya Ganga, between Pipli and Kurdha.

His successor Kesari Narasimha, who reigned from A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1307 filled up the river-bed (Balagandi) which ran between the temple and the country house of Jagannath and which was a great obstruction for the car processions carrying the idols during the great festivals.*

The eleventh in succession from Kesari Narasimha was Kapilendra Deva, who reigned from A. D. 1452 to 1479. He seems to have been originally a common herd boy, tending the flocks of his Brahmin master. He was raised to the throne in A.D. 1452. His successor was Purushotta-ma Deva whose rule extended from A.D. 1479 to A.D. 1504.†

Then comes Pratapa Rudra Deva, who reigned from A.D. 1504 to A.D. 1532; and whose daughter was married by Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest emperor of the Vijaya-nagar dynasty, after his conquest of Orissa. The King of Orissa was allowed to retain his possessions after his conquest; by his generous-minded son-in-law. Krishna Deva Rayalu, and thus the ancient kingdom of Orissa, became a part of the great Vijayanagar empire about this time.‡

* Before this time a double set of cars had been required for the conveyance of the images. Stirling calls this Prince as Kabir Narsing and credits him with the erection of the bridge across the Atharnala at the entrance to Puri.

† A tradition says that the King of Conjeevaram refused to marry his daughter to this Prince on the ground, that he held the menial office of sweeper to the god Jagannath. Purushottama, enraged at this insult, invaded Conjeevaram, defeated the King, and carried off his daughter. He swore that he would marry her to a sweeper in revenge for her father's refusal. The State Minister, a very clever man, to whom this order was entrusted for execution, brought forward the Princess at the next grand festival of Jagannath, and gave her to his master when His Highness was performing the low function of the sweeper before the god. The marriage was afterwards duly celebrated. The Kings of Kanche disappeared long before this date. There must have been some subordinate Princes who were ruling there, perhaps as feudatories of the Vijayanagar rulers.

‡ If Kapilendra Deva was a "herd boy" who originally tended the flock of his Brahmin master and was afterwards raised to the throne in A.D. 1452 the fate of the Gangavamsa Princes appears to have been sealed before this date. For if they were powerful and alive, they would not have allowed

The Ganapathies of Warangal.—Warangal has a peculiar interest in the history of the Vijayanagar rulers, for we have seen that among the various traditions, mentioned in Chapter III. of this work, there runs a strong belief, that the founders of the Harihara or Bukka dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar, were fugitive officers or Princes from the Court of Warangal, and therefore directly connected with that royal family or at least with the administration of the Warangal rulers. A short sketch, will be given here to enable the readers to follow the fortunes of this once powerful kingdom, and its able rulers. The sovereigns of Warangal began to rise to prominence in the early part of the 12th century, and continued to be in power for about 200 years, till they felt the warlike-shocks of the invading Mahomedans from the North. When they came in contact with the Mussalman conquerors, they lost much of their power and independence, although the later rulers of Warangal managed to keep alive their reduced territories, for about a century more, after which, we hear of them no more. The foundation of the city of Warangal has been attributed to the Princes of the Andhra dynasty.*

If reliance can be placed upon this assertion, the kingdom of Warangal must have been founded 10 or 11 centuries, before it first rose to prominence, and attracted political attention. Very few authentic materials are forthcoming, as regards the origin and the state of these rulers during the 10 or 12 centuries they remained unnoticed. None of the inscriptions, as yet discovered, enables the readers, to go beyond the latter part of the 12th century.

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a "herd boy" to get on their throne without a struggle. Reliable information is wanted to explain these changes in the succession of rulers in Orissa.

* See Meadows Taylor's History of India p. 54. He quotes however no authority for his statement.

Tribhuvana Malla, was probably succeeded by Prola Raja. A traditional account runs to the effect that the first (known) King of Warangal conquered the Cholas and married a Princess from the royal line of Ceylon. His son became insane, and his two grandsons ruled jointly at Nandur, on the Godavery. About 10 Princes are enumerated as having ruled before Prola Raja. This King seems to have been succeeded by his son Pratapa Rudra I. and he was succeeded by his son Ganapathy Deva. An inscription dated A.D. 1162 is ascribed to Pratapa Rudra I. who appears to have been a famous Prince. From this inscription, Tribhuvana Malla appears to have been the father of Prola Raja, but nothing more is known about him. A local tradition ascribes the building of the city of Warangal to Prola Raja, eight of whose ancestors having ruled at Hanumakonda.*

Prola is said to have been a minor at his accession; and to have defeated the Gajapathi sovereign of Orissa. He seems to have been accidently killed by his son Pratapa Rudra I, thereby fulfilling a prophecy which had foretold his death exactly as it had happened. Prola Raja also claims, according to this inscription, to have captured "Tailappu Deva" and to have released him afterwards. Tailappu Deva, has been identified by Mr. Fleet as Taila III. of the Western Chalukyas, who ruled from A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1162. During Prola's time Jagadevarsu, one of the Santara Kings of Maisur seems to have invaded Warangal

* It is spelt as Anumakonda. A tradition runs to the effect that when Rama and Lukshmana were laid senseless by the arrows of Ravana, Jambavantha sent Hanumantha to fetch the drug Mritasanjivini from the Himalayas or some Northern mountains. This hero pulled the mountain itself, and carried it to Lanka, instead of taking the trouble of searching for the special drug. On the way, a huge part of the mountain broke off, and fell near Warangal. Hence the rocky hills there are called Hanumakonda, or the mountain of Hanumantha. Nandur on the Godavery also appears to have been the place where Sikh Guru was assassinated.

and besieged Hanumakonda, but was successfully repulsed by the brave garrison.*

The incription dated A.D. 1162 further states, that the grant was made by Pratapa Rudra, that Tailappa III. died and that some conquests were made by the Ganapathies, especially over one Bhima, and the capture of the city of Chododaya. Dr. Burnell says that the loss of Kalinga to the Cholas took place in A.D. 1228, and therefore it must have been during the time of Ganapathy Deva, the successor of Pratapa Rudra I. One cannot, however, be certain of these dates and events, and must wait for the examination of inscriptions which are found largely in the Kalinga Desa. Mr. Sewell considers that the conquest of Kalinga, should have been placed earlier than this date. The wife of Ganapathy Deva was Queen Rudramma. She was a very remarkable woman and ruled her kingdom after her husband's death, with much vigour, and ability. As there was no heir to the throne at the time of her husband's death, she readily assumed the reins of government; and ruled over the kingdom for 38 years (A.D. 1257 to A.D. 1295). Her long reign was marked by an able system of administration, as is testified to by Marco Polo, who visited the east coast, south of the Krishna river, at Motupalle, just at the close of her reign. He writes thus about Warangal:—"This was formerly under the rule of a King, and since his death, some 40 years past, it has been under his Queen, a lady of much discretion, who for the great love she bore him, would never marry another husband, and I can assure you, that during

* An inscription dated A. D. 1149 mentions a Santra King Jagadevarsu, making a grant at the temple of Kedaraswara in Belgavi (Belgaum) with his son Bommarasa. In this he acknowledges the supremacy of the Chalukyan Emperor Jagadekamulla and states, that it was the 13th year of that monarch's reign. This Jagadeva calls himself also Tribhuvanu Malla and says that he was lord of Pombacha, or Humchu, and seated at his capital Setu, now a small village in the Sagar Taluq. There is no other ruler among the Santaras of Maisur, or the bordering countries, by this name, and if Warangal was invaded by any Santara Prince it must be this Jagadevarsu.

all that space of 40 years, she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did or better; and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before." Queen Rudramma abdicated the throne, which she held so wisely, in favour of her daughter's son in A.D. 1295. This youth, was, afterwards, the celebrated Pratapa Rudra II who ruled from A.D. 1295 to A.D. 1323. He was one of the most powerful Princes of his time, but destined to be virtually, the last of his line. On a careful perusal of Pratapa Rudriyam, written by Vaidyanatha, who seems to have been a contemporary of both Rudramba and Pratapa Rudra II, to the latter of whom, he dedicates his celebrated work, it is found that Rudramba was the daughter of Ganapathy Deva, and not his wife. Her mother was Somamba. Ganapathy Deva had no sons, and his daughter Rudramba succeeded him on the throne of Warangal. She seems to have had a daughter, whose son was Pratapa Rudra II. and in whose favour she was, advised by Siva, in a dream, to abdicate the throne. Mr. Sewell and Dr. Burnell quote no authorities to support the fact that Rudramma was Ganapathy's wife. The evidence of a contemporary writer, who was patronised by Rudramma and her daughter's son Pratapa Rudra II. and to whom he dedicated his work, I think, requires to be given its due weight in the decision of such a vital question as the relationship of these two sovereigns.* The Governor

* The commentator of the Pratapa Rudriyam (a work of great merit on Sanskrit literature) Kumaraswami Somayajee confuses himself and his readers, by his ill-advised remarks on p. 123 (*Edition 1868*) to the effect that Rudramba was the wife of Ganapathy, and succeeded to the throne as he had no sons. Again on p. 125 of the same book, he hopelessly contradicts himself by saying that Rudramma's father was Ganapathy Deva and her mother was Somamba. But in the body of the book itself it is clearly stated that Rudramba was Ganapathy's daughter by his wife Somamba and they belonged to the Kakataya family. The expression on p. 128 may be intrepreted to mean either that Pratapa Rudra was the son of Rudramba's daughter, adopted by her to succeed to the throne or he may be her own son, and therefore the daughter's son of Ganapathy Deva, and thus adopted

of Oudh, Ala-ud-din, who was the nephew of the King of Delhi, marched into the Deccan in A.D. 1295 and plundered the city of Devagiri, the capital of the Yadava Princes ruling there. The Mahomedans retired from Devagiri, after exacting a heavy ransom.

Ala-ud-din murdered his uncle and raised himself to the throne of Delhi and sent an army into the Deccan in A.D. 1306 under the command of the famous General Malik Kafur to reduce Devagiri in consequence of the King of Devagiri having refused to pay the stipulated tribute. The Raja of Devagiri was captured and taken to Delhi. The arms of the Mahomedans were directed against Warangal in A.D. 1309. The first campaign was however unsuccessful. But the invincible Mussalmans came again and defeated Pratapa Rudra completely, captured Warangal, and compelled the King to become a feudatory.

Malik Kafur, was again sent to the South in A.D. 1310, to reduce the Hoysala Ballalas of Dwarasamudra. He was completely successful and advanced to the Malabar Coast,

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by the last male holder of the empire. As the words "Swikrutay Putra Bhavana" occur, they imply clearly adoption by either Rudramma or to her father Ganapathy Deva. On p. 178 of the same work, a verse contains the expression "Naptuhu" which undoubtedly means "great-grandson" and this can only be referred to Ganapathy Deva who was father of Rudramma and thus became the great grandfather of Pratapa Rudra II. The name of Pratapa Rudra's father is made out by this work as Mahadeva, who must have married the daughter of Rudramba, the Queen. According to the Hindu law, a widow has no independent power to adopt a heir. She can only do so either by the implied or open consent of her husband. In this case, she adopted her Dowhitra (daughter's son) under the implied consent of the previous ruler Ganapathy Deva. It is also to be noted, that in politics and war, no laws are respected when they stand in their way, but this view strengthens the relationship made out clearly in the work, quoted above. As regards Marco Polo's statement that Rudramma succeeded her husband, we may dismiss it with the remark, that he never visited Warangal, that he was a passing traveller, that he did not understand the language of the country, and that at best he only quoted what ill-informed people in the South talked about Warangal. This does not take away from his veracity as a traveller, who correctly noted down what he saw and heard. W. H. D. Adams says that Marco Polo visited the South Indian peninsula in A.D. 1293.

where he built a mosque to commemorate the event. He captured Dwarasamudra, sacked the celebrated temple of Halabedu and returned to Delhi. Malik Khusro was sent in A.D. 1318 to Warangal by the Sultan of Delhi and he seems to have defeated the King, but this circumstance has not been mentioned by Ferishta. The open hostility, and frequent inroads of the Mahomedans, seem to have roused the anxiety and fear of the Princes of the Deccan, and about the year A.D. 1323 Pratapa Rudra made an alliance with the King of Devagiri and threw off all semblance of subordination to the sovereign of Delhi. The disturbances at Delhi in A.D. 1321 and the subversion of the house of Khilji and the establishment of the new dynasty of Mohomed Toglak, gave, probably, some strong hopes to the Princes of the Deccan to adopt this ill-advised step, for one of the first acts of the new monarch, after his accession to the throne, was to despatch a strong army to Warangal under his eldest son Ulugh Khan, to reduce the refractory Raja. This expedition was however unsuccessful. The Mahomedan forces beseiged both the mud fort and the strong stone fort, but during the seige they were subjected to a terrible epidemic and were greatly reduced in numbers. A successful sally of the fort garrison, put them to flight, and they became panic-stricken and dispirited. As they were beaten at every point by the courage and resolution of the garrison, they raised the seige, and retired hastily. In A.D. 1323, however, a powerful Mahomedan army marched southwards and captured Warangal. Pratapu Rudra was made prisoner and sent to Delhi. His son Krishna succeeded him but the territories he ruled over, were greatly reduced.*

* There is a tradition current all over the Deccan and Southern India, to the effect, that Pratapa Rudra had a Minister called Mantri Yugandhara, a wonderfully clever man, who after the capture of his sovereign by the Mussalmans, and his state imprisonment in Delhi, seated the son of Pratapa Rudra on the throne, went to Delhi, interviewed his master, brought an army, and defeated the Sultan of Delhi and brought back his

He revolted in A.D. 1344, made a grand confederacy of the Hindu Princes, fought against the Mahomedans and turned the tables against them, by driving the Mussalmans out of the country. The Delhi sovereigns do not, however, seem to have made any further attempts to subvert the Hindu power, or combination, but in A.D. 1358 Mohomed Sha Bhamini plundered the country up to the capital and only retired from Warangal on being paid a heavy ransom. Krishna's son seems to have been Vinayakadeva or Nagadeva. In A.D. 1371 war again broke out between Warangal and the Bhamini kingdom, which resulted in the disastrous defeat of the former, the capture of the fortress of Vellumputtan, and the cruel murder of the Prince Nagadeva. The Hindus, however, seem to have so harrassed the Mahomedans in their retreat, that only a third of their number, reached Gulburga in safety. The Raja (Krishna) vainly attempted to induce the King of Delhi to aid him, and on being again attacked by the Bhamini Prince he had to submit and to hand over to the Mussalmans an immense quantity of treasure. A treaty was drawn up and boundaries were fixed for the two kingdoms.

In A.D. 1424 the King of Bhamini, Ahmed Shah, made war on Warangal and killed the Raja. We hear no more after this, about the kingdom of Warangal or its rulers.*

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monarch with great triumph. It is also alleged that he and certain of his nobles dressed themselves as merchants dealing in pearls and gems, induced the Delhi Prince, with his Minister and State Officers to inspect certain goods which they had brought from different parts of the world, in some place far away from Delhi, caught them as prisoners, with the help of a select body of horsemen whom he had concealed there, and brought them all to Warangal, treated them with honor and courtesy, and sent them back after great feasting and rejoicing. We have as yet discovered no inscriptions which support this story or the defeat of the Delhi sovereign by Prataapa Rudra or his Minister.

* Who this Raja was and what was his relation to the former Raja of Warangal it is not easy to say. Krishna was supposed to have been the Raja.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF CIVILISATION DURING THE EARLY TIMES.

The historian of India, however great a genius he may be, is confronted with almost insuperable difficulties, at every turn he takes, in the collection of correct materials for his sketches of Indian nations and the state of civilisation and material progress, which obtained amongst them. He has to depend largely upon the few recorded fragments, from the early Greek and other contemporary writers, which are imperfect in their nature, and which cannot be completely accepted as so many established truths. The older Greek and other writers, had only hasty glimpses, of the ancient Hindu civilisation, but even the few recorded facts they have left to posterity, speak very highly of the early Indian civilisation, and progress. The Hindus, seem to have kept no records, which can be accepted, as authentic, under the strict definition of correct history. A sweeping remark, often levelled against the Hindus, of the lack of, what is called, the historical faculty, amongst them, may not perhaps be very correct, when it is read in the light of the numerous inscriptions, which have been now discovered almost all over the Indian Peninsula.

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referred to in A. D. 1371. He seems to have reigned long after his father's captivity.

But there are no authentic records to show that Krishna was the Raja referred to in A.D. 1371 and that he survived his son Nagadeva. I visited the fort of Warangal in 1890 and went over the whole place with great interest. Much of it is in ruins. Several old men in the neighbourhood told me that there were five lines of forts: (1) Manishi Kota, or a line of men forming like a fort; (2) Kampa Kota, or a hedge fort; (3) Manti Kota, or mud fort; (4) Rowthu Kota, or Raye Kota, masonry fort; and (5) Kanchu Kota, or brazen or bell-metal fort. Inside these five enclosures was situated the King's palaces. I examined the great battery or bastion which is built

But it must be admitted, that the historian of India often gets puzzled over the same facts, when the materials, on which he has to base his inferences, are hopelessly contradictory in their nature. This defect has been fortunately cured to some extent by the discovery of valuable stone and copper-plate inscriptions, whose genuineness, has been found to be beyond the least shadow of a doubt. Many of these inscriptions, when examined by trained and competent scholars, furnish fairly sound materials for the compilation of an authentic history of India. In the matter of commemorating the great events of their lives, the people of Southern India seem to have been far ahead of their brethren of the North; for we find more inscriptions in the South, than in the North, of this great country. The large temples of Southern India and the Deccan, have been, as it were, repositories, for the historical facts of their respective periods, and if fuller details are not forthcoming, the historian, may at least comfort himself, by the fact, that these written chapters of the "inscription-history" will enable him, to spin out a brief but correct sketch of the events of those times and the dynasties who ruled, and to take his stand firmly on the solid basis of historical truth. In the statements of European and Asiatic travellers, about the annals of Vijayanagar, we find some

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on a huge boulder, and on which I saw still the traces of machinery for the use of large cannon, which could be turned quickly in all directions, and made to fire. The present stone fort seems to be a strong one and the circumference may be about two miles. A large number of ruined temples and other buildings testified silently but eloquently to its former greatness. Two bulls carved in black stone, at once reminded me of the architectural skill of Deccanachari in Halebedu and Belur, and a stone peacock, on what they informed me, as one of the principal gates of the great temple, struck me with its resemblance to nature. The fort is now the Jahagir property of a Mussalman Nawab who had kept the surroundings as unclean as possible. The word "Warangal" is derived from the Telugu *wora*, leaning; and *Kallu*, stone. The latter *Kallu* is also used in Kanarese. When a portion of the mountain carried by Hanumantha dropped, great boulders stuck up to the ground in a leaning posture—hence the term "Woragallu" anglicised into Warangal.

particulars, so wild or fabulous in their nature, that a sober-minded man of fairly good education, will stare blankly before them and perhaps will be tempted to consign them to the misty records of the ancient mythology, or to doubt the sanity and veracity of the writers who have left those graphic descriptions. It becomes, therefore, necessary to have as correct an idea of the early times, the state of civilisation which obtained amongst them, and the material resources which those nations were able to command, during the time of their greatest power and wealth, as we possibly can. The views which have been put forward here, are mostly taken from eminent writers, who have laboured long in the historical field, and whose researches are simply invaluable, to the succeeding generations. Strong and learned discussions, off the track, can serve no good purpose, but on the other hand, they generally take away the readers from long-established truths, and make them more confounded than before, in their views on ancient events. The subject is a very comprehensive one, and requires much patient study and great intellectual acumen. India was highly civilised long before the birth of Christ, and this has been proved as a fact by many able writers. Leaving remote antiquity to take care of itself for the present, we shall examine the state of civilisation and material progress in India in the earlier centuries both before and after the Christian era. The theory, that the highly cultured Aryans came from some common original stock, in Central Asia, may or may not be accepted, as true, but it seems to be a fact that the Aryans were found largely distributed in the Northern regions of India, many centuries before they made their emigration into the Southern Provinces. This emigration of the Aryans into the South, may have been necessitated either by great pressure of the fresh hordes of Aryans, coming from the North, or by the love of greed and power to settle down in fertile regions, where they easily

overpowered the aboriginal and less-civilised nations, and found means to establish their own colonies, which afterwards became so very famous in the history of Southern India. If any reliance can be placed on Ramayana, as containing some germs of historical truth, we see there (1) a highly civilised Aryan nation invading the Island kingdom of Lanka, and (2) the King and people of Lanka possessing an equally high state of civilisation in architecture, polity, sciences, literature and religious codes. A great European writer, very aptly says, that "Ravana was a foe quite worthy of Rama." This little comprehensive sentence, conveys a world of ideas, in the comparison of the two great heroes of whom one was an Aryan from the North, and the other a Rakshasa from the South. When we come to Mahabharata we see the South Indian Princes playing no insignificant parts in the great and destructive war between the Pandus and the Kurus. The Pandu Princes, in their wanderings through the South, found there much to learn and admire. In the 3rd century B. C. Asoka found highly enlightened nations in the South, and they were able to maintain their independence even as against this mighty emperor from the North, whose resources were unlimited and whose armies were formidable. Buddha travelled to the South and found appreciate audiences to the high principles of morality and self-sacrifice, which he expounded in his own wonderful manner. The great Adwaitha philosopher, Sankaracharya, hailed from the South, and revolutionised the religious thought of the world. Ramanujacharya, the founder of the famous Visistadwaitha system of philosophy, was a native of Southern India. Madhavacharya (Vidyaranya) came from Vijayanagar itself and gave the cultured humanity, the greatest boon, which any single scholar could give to his contemporaries or to the succeeding generations. His commentaries on the four Vedas, are monuments of the highest intellectual culture, and patient and laborious

research. Many of the Tamilian Vedanthic writers, of extraordinary merit, were equally the products of the South Indian soil. The temples of Southern India are the wonders of Indian architecture, and have very old associations ascribed to them. The series of beautiful artificial tanks throughout the Deccan and Southern India, speak highly of the industry and the intelligence of the hands, which constructed them, and bring much credit upon the rulers and their advisers in the irrigation department. Arts and manufactures were well advanced, and sciences and literature flourished to a remarkable extent. Medical science had attained to a very respectable position and the founding of public charitable dispensaries and institutions became almost a mania with the people of the earlier times. Considerable progress seems to have been made in India long before the Christian era, and the remarks of Mr. Taylor, on the state of civilisation in India before Christ may be quoted with advantage. He says thus: "In other respects up to the Christian era, India does not seem to have much changed. The system of the divisions of the people by Manu still prevailed; literature and the science of astronomy, mathematics and logic, as well as religious and metaphysical philosophy had attained their greatest height; and though as yet, no union of India under one particular dynasty, or empire is apparent, yet individual kingdoms were locally powerful, the people were civilised, and as far as can be ascertained, content and prosperous." It is, however, extremely probable, "that the Egyptian and Greek, and possibly also Roman merchants, visited the southern portions of India, before, as they undoubtedly did after, the Christian era, and that in the period, now under consideration, there was comparatively little difference between the population of the North of India and of the South."

That there were powerful monarchies in the South, that they were well civilised in the arts of life and that

they had the noble object of furthering the interests of trade and commerce, are borne out by the solicitude which the early monarchs showed in sending ambassadors to different European Courts with the object of extending their trade. Elphinstone quotes Strabo as authority, for an embassy from King Pandyan to Augustus shortly before the Christian era, probably about 20 B.C. Porus was also alleged to have sent an embassy about the same time to the same Court. Perhaps this Porus was King of some country in the North, but not the famous hero who fought with Alexander in the 4th century B.C. Kooroorangan Perumal, probably a Pandyan King of Madura, is said to have afforded protection to the Christians in the 6th century, whose merchants were rich, and who traded extensively with Egypt and Persia. Says an eminent historian, that "in these Southern kingdoms, the science of architecture was developed at an early period, possibly before, but certainly soon after the Christian era, and more progress was made in it by the execution of temples and other great public monuments than in the North. Not only were their dimensions larger, but their style was more confirmed and their ornamentation richer and of a more distinct character. But as an almost higher proof of their civilisation, it may be adduced that artificial irrigation of the soil had been commenced upon a scale of extended usefulness, which existed probably in no other country, except Babylon. The exact period at which the system was commenced is not known, but existing inscriptions relate to periods shortly after the Christian era, and it is not improbable that it had been there long in operation. In this particular the Southern people of India left the Northern far behind. Not only were stone dams or weirs thrown across large rivers and their streams directed over the lands or their banks, but reservoirs of all sizes from the humblest village tank to those noble lakes, still in existence, which are from one to 10 square miles, and

upwards in area, were distributed over every part of the country, furnishing then, as now, means of irrigation to thousands of acres of land, which would otherwise be sterile These reservoirs were formed by dams thrown across the courses of brooks, and streams of all sizes, at some point, where the comparative flatness of the river, valley above, and projections of high land on each bank towards the stream, afforded at once, the site of a basin and its dam, and thus the water of the stream, when flooded by the periodical rains, was stored up, until it was needed for the dry seasons. The dams of these reservoirs were of earth faced with large blocks of rough stone set without mortar, nor can the most scientific processes of the present day improve either the principles of construction of such dams or the simple but efficacious sluices with which they were fitted for the regulated discharge of water. Of such useful works, upwards of 50,000 are still in working order in the Madras Presidency, and the total number of these enduring monuments of past ages must be immense."*

Writing on the history of the Carnatic, we have the following important passage, which describes the state of civilisation there:—"From the 5th century the history of the Carnatic, is, of all, the clearest portion and is well illustrated by the inscriptions of the ruling families, the absence of which in other localities is so much to be regretted. The country appears to have been well peopled, and well cultivated, and the sea coast afforded means of communication by sea with Egypt and Arabia. . . . From the Christian era up to the 7th century, the Jain faith was the prevailing religion, and as in Guzerat and other

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* The number this historian has given falls far behind the actual figure. In the whole of Deccan and Southern India there is hardly any village, that is without a tank, while some have as many as two, three or even four. Even in villages and towns which are situated on important river banks, tanks are found, with a view to store the excess water, from the river and turn it to cultivation when the flood goes down.

localities, where it existed, its richly-decorated temples remain as proofs, not only of the highest architectural skill of the period, but of a refinement in taste which perhaps stands almost unrivalled."

The village communities were governed by their hereditary officers. Colleges and schools had been established for education and richly endowed by their founders. Hereditary district officers, deans of guild, and other functionaries presided over the administration of the laws and the collections of revenue. Agriculture was well protected and flourished, and so far as the inscriptions afford particulars, there seems to be no reason to doubt the existence of a high and then progressive civilisation equal in all respects to that of Northern India.

A great European writer thus summarises his impressions of the civilisation of ancient India, in the following graphic sentences :—"I have called the mind of the Hindu race the brain of the East—the latest philosophical and religious systems lay prefigured in the depths of this Hindu brain. It created one of the most artistic languages, and one of the richest literatures in the world. It compiled elaborate law codes, and besides its voluminous bibles, gathered immense treasures of sacred lore, ritual, philosophical, devotional. Its poetic productivity was prodigious, its great epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, glow with luxuriance of imagery, which contrasts, with the Iliad or Æneid as the stupendous vegetation of India, differs from that of Italy or Greece. All that this colossal people have dreamed or done in philosophy, mythology, ethics, imagination, or didactic thought, is here transmuted into song. The earlier Hindus had well organised governments, much lauded by the Greek writers, for the wise and thoughtful manner in which the interests of trade and agriculture were protected, the wants of strangers, as of the sick and the needy supplied, and the defence of the

state secured. India has at all times been famous for its domestic and foreign trade. In more than one epoch, the resources of India, natural and industrial, as well as intellectual, have made the wealth of great empires. Its delicate tissues, its marvellous colors, and dyes, its porcelains, its work in metals and precious stones, its dainty essences, and perfumes, have not only been the wonder and delight of Europe, but in no slight degree helped in the revival of art. The intellectual life of India was profoundly felt throughout the ancient world. They not only applied algebra to astronomy and geometry, but geometry to the demonstration of algebraic rules. The decimal system was developed in India as a speculative calculus so earnestly that special names were given to every power in an ascending scale of enormous reach. The 53rd power of 10, was taken as a unit and on this new base, another scale of numbers rose till a figure was reached consisting of this unity followed by 421 zeroes. Aryabhatta, their greatest astronomer and mathematician, determined, very closely, the relation of the diameter of a circle to the circumference, and applied it to the measurement of the earth. Their physicians were skilful enough to win the admiration of the Greeks. In whatsoever concerns the study of words and forms of thought, the Hindus have always been at home, anticipating the Greeks and accomplishing more at the outset of their career, than the Semitic races, did in 2,000 years." Referring to the earlier centuries before Christ, Mr. Smith remarks:— "The Hindus, then, as now, enjoyed the privilege of absolutely free thought, and were at liberty then, as now, to discuss, affirm or deny the existence of God, or of the soul, and any other proposition in metaphysics or psychology which can suggest itself to speculative minds. Hindustan has never produced an exclusive dominant orthodox sect, with a formula of faith to be professed or rejected under pain of damnation. A Hindu has, at all

times been, free to believe what he pleases." The ancient governments were constructed on a basis in which although the "representative forms" in name were not perhaps present, the spirit of their organisation, contained a great deal of the essence of modern representative and municipal instincts.

The details of the administration in all departments, were well conceived, and ably executed. The King's power was no doubt absolute, but he was ably advised by his ministers, and the councillors, and their combined protest had always its salutary effect upon the deliberations and promptings of the sovereign. Even Mohomed Toglak, one of the greatest and maddest of sovereigns, used to convene a meeting of his councillors and put his propositions before them for solution.

The King was the first in rank and his Prime Minister stood next to him. Then came the Provincial Viceroys or Governors, who often combined in their persons, the civil and military functions, and received the orders of the King and his chief minister for guidance in all important matters. They were generally allowed a liberal hand in the internal administration of their respective provinces.

A few passages quoted from Asoka, about the details of administration, will clearly show how countries were governed throughout the Indian Peninsula by their rulers, with such variations, as were needed, to suit the special local or political conditions. Asoka "attached the highest importance to the necessity of being accessible to the aggrieved subject at any place and at any hour." Krishna Deva Royulu, the greatest of Vijayanagar emperors, realised the grand truth of this wholesome precept and followed its spirit to almost faultless perfection.

"The civil administration was an organisation of considerable complexity and apparently not inferior to that elaborated by Sher Shah and Akbar."

"Roads were maintained by the royal officers, and pillars were erected on the principal highways to serve as mile-stones at intervals of about an English mile and a quarter."

The ancient Princes prided themselves on consulting the comfort of travellers by planting shady trees and digging wells at frequent intervals along the principal pathways. Asoka's metropolis "was administered by a committee of 30 members, divided into six Boards with five members each. The first Board was charged with the superintendence of the industrial arts and artisans. The second was entrusted with the duty of superintending foreigners, and attending to their wants. This Board provided medical aid for foreigners in case of sickness, with decent burial in case of death; and administered the estates of the deceased, remitting the net proceeds to the persons entitled. It had also to provide proper escort to foreigners leaving the country. The third Board was responsible for the registration of births and deaths. . . . The fourth was the Board of Trade which exercised a general superintendence over trade and commerce and regulated weights and measures." Proper notice was taken by Government, of the sale of commodities in the proper season and that the prices were fixed at a uniform rate. A fifth Board took care of manufactures. The sixth was given the duties of levying a tithe of the prices of all articles sold.*

The skill of the wood-carver and stone-cutter may be said to have attained perfection in the earlier centuries. "Gigantic shafts of hard sand-stone," says Mr. Smith, "30 or 40 feet in length and enormous surfaces of granite were

* Compare the present Court of Wards, Chamber of Commerce, Municipal regulations on sanitation, Police arrangements for protection, Syndicates of Universities, Municipal and imperial tolls or taxes, Registration of Birth and Death offices, Census operations, and the regulation of weights and measures.

polished like jewels and the joints of masonry were fitted with the utmost nicety. White ants and other destructive agencies have prevented the preservation of any specimens of wood-work, but the character of the carpenter's art of the period is known from the architectural decoration, which, as Fergusson so persistently pointed out, is derived from wooden proto-types. The beads and other jewellery and the seals of the Maurya period, and other ages, which have been frequently found, prove that the Indian lapidaries and goldsmiths, of the earliest historical period, were not inferior to those of any other country. The recorded descriptions and sculptured representations of chariots, harness, arms, accoutrements, dress, textile fabrics, and other articles of necessity and luxury, indicate that the Indian empire had then attained a stage of material civilisation, probably equal to that attained under the Moghul Emperors."

The Greek writers speak with the greatest respect of the power and resources of the kingdoms of Maghada and Bengal. We also read of Asoka importing medicinal drugs for the relief of men and animals to all the quarters of his empire, and also to Chola, Pandya, Ceylon, Satyaputra and Keralaputra. A grand statue of stone about 60 feet in height, stands even now, on the top of an elevated hill, at Sravana Belagola, in Mysore, which was supposed to have been cut out of the stone on the top of the hill, about the latter part of the 10th century. A grand stone trough about 45 feet in length by 3 × 2 in height and breadth, may now be seen near the Maharnavami Dibba among the ruins of Vijayanagar, which was filled with milk for the use of young colts and elephants during the time of Krishna Deva Royulu. Nor were the glories of civilisation confined to India alone. The Island of Ceylon, immortalised by Valmiki in his famous epic of Ramayana, bears unmistakable testimony to its ancient civilisation, by its crumbled edifices, dating back, perhaps as remote as

1,000 years before the Christian era. Mr. Burrows, M.A., of the C. C. S., writing of the ancient Ceylonese, thus remarks:—"The voluble vendors of expensive tortoise-shell and fallacious gems are not fair representatives of a nation, who could build a city of gigantic monoliths, carve a mountain into a graceful shrine and decorate its pious monuments with delicate pillars that would have done credit to a Grecian artist."*

The ruins near Anuradhapura are interesting and highly speak of an advanced ancient civilisation. The Brazen Palace is a vast collection of monolithic granite pillars, 1,600 in number, standing about 12 feet out of the ground, and arranged in lines of 40 each way. They cover a space of about 232 feet square. The corner pillars are more than double the size of the rest. "They were probably coated with chunam and perhaps covered with copper. They formed the foundations of the Lova-Maha-paya—or the great brazen palace erected by King Dutu-gemunu, in the 2nd century B. C., and supported a building nine stories in height, containing 1,000 dormitories and other apartments. The roof of this vast monastery was of brass. The walls were embellished with beads, resplendent like gems. The great hall was supported on golden pillars resting on lions. In the centre was an ivory throne, with a golden sun and a silver moon on either side."

Passing into the interior, the traveller is cheered by the sight of the enormous Dagoba, whose height including the pedestal and spire, is 249 feet and its diameter 360 feet and the cubic contents of the dome of brick work and the platform, on which it stands, are said by Sir Emmerson

* Sir Emmerson Tennent, the eminent historian of Ceylon, suggests that the Island of Lanka, referred to in Ramayana, may have been submerged under the sea, leaving only a portion of it—perhaps its extreme north—which corresponds with the present Island of Ceylon. Instances of such submergences, and upheavals of large portions of lands, have often been recorded by scientific explorers.

Tennent to exceed 20 millions of cubic feet. He adds:—"Even with the facilities which modern invention supplies for economising labour, the building of such a mass would at present occupy 500 bricklayers, from six to seven years and would involve an expenditure of at least one million sterling."*

Two thousand years ago the Chinese erected a wall 1,250, miles in length to prevent the incursions of the Tartars.

Two miles from Kamakura and about 20 miles from Yokohama, in Japan, on a terrace near the temple, sits the most gigantic idol in the world. It is the brazen image of a deity and dates from the reign of the Emperor Shomu, who died in A. D. 748, or nearly 12 centuries old. The dimensions of this idol are colossal. His height from the base of the lotus flower upon which he sits, to the top of his head is 63½ feet; the face is 16 feet in length and 9½ feet wide; the eyes are 3¾ feet from corner to corner; the eyebrows are 5½ feet; the ears 8½ feet; the chest is 20 feet in depth; and the middle finger is 5 feet long. The 56 petals of the lotus throne on which he is seated, are each 10 by 6 feet. Sir Marco Polo, the great Venetian medieval traveller, records his experiences with the famous Kublai Khan in Cathay. Sir Marco Polo and his father and uncle travelled through the bleak wastes of the Pamiers, crossed the desert of Gobi, to Tangut, the name then applied by Mongols, to the territory at the extreme north-west of China, both within and without the famous great wall. They came upon the great Khan at his summer palace of Kaiping-Fu, near the foot of the Khin-gan mountains, about the year A. D. 1275. This Khan built a city called Chandu and a fine marble palace, "the rooms

* Sir Emmerson Tennent says that the "materials are sufficient to raise 8,000 houses each with 20 feet frontage, and these would form 30 streets half-a-mile in length." They would line an ordinary railway tunnel 20 miles long or form a wall one foot thick and 10 feet high reaching from London to Edinburgh.

of which are all guilt and painted with figures of men, beasts and birds and with a variety of trees, and flowers, all wrought with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment." Round this palace is built a wall enclosing a compass of 16 miles, and inside the park are fountains and rivers, and brooks and beautiful meadows with all kinds of wild animals.

The Khan himself sometimes rides through the park with a leopard behind him on his horse's croup. . . . . Further at a point, where blooms a delightful wood, the emperor has another palace, built of bamboo, gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. It is supported on gilt and lacquered columns, on each of which stands a dragon, all gilt, the tail being attached to the column, while the head uplifts the architrave. The roof is covered with a varnish so good and strong that no amount of rain will rot it. The construction of the palace is such, that it can be taken down and put up again with great rapidity and it can be removed to any place which the emperor desires.

This great Khan keeps an immense stud of white horses and mares, all pure white, without a blemish. But I must now tell you a strange thing. . . . . during the three months, the great Khan resides at that place, if it should chance to be bad weather, there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who are such adepts in necromancy and the diabolic arts, that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm from traversing the spot whereon the imperial palace stands. They are called Icbit and Kesomin. There is another marvel performed by these Bacsi, of whom I have spoken as skilled in so many enchantments, for when the great Khan is at his capital and in his grand palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform, some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him on a great buffet in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance of ten paces from his table

and filled with wine or other good spiced liquor; now when the lord desires to drink, these necromancers by the power of their enchantments, cause the cups to move from their place, without being touched by anybody and to present themselves to the emperor. This, everyone present may witness, and oftimes there are more than 2,000 persons present. It is a truth and no lie." *

If we turn to the Egyptians, Grecians, and Romans, a high state of civilisation existed long before the birth of Christ. The "Ancients," says a writer, "however, possessed considerable information respecting the nations of the interior of Northern Africa, perhaps, more than we have, respecting the inhabitants of the same regions, at the present day." The inhabitants of Ethiopia, early enjoyed the blessings of civilisation and carried on an active and lucrative Commerce with the Egyptians. Scriptures bear testimony to the early civilisation of Egypt. It had a settled government and was visited by caravans of merchants from all parts of Central and Southern Asia. No nation has left such stupendous monuments of its former greatness. The pyramids, the rock-temples and the gigantic statues of Egypt seem to defy the lapse of time, unfortunately the inscriptions are written in a language, which is not well understood, and the earlier history is involved in darkness. "The existing monuments," remarks a writer, "prove that civilisation descended the Nile and that there was a close connection between Egypt and India." The city of Rhodes suddenly rose to great eminence and power after the death of Alexander the Great. It sustained

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* Marco Polo lived with this Khan for a number of years, and he gives his personal experiences, which look like so many fables, but which are considered to be perfectly true now. "At one time," says D. Adams, "the authenticity of his (Marco Polo) statements was frequently and openly impugned. He was accused of exaggeration and inexactitude, but the labours of Marsdon, Pauthier, and specially of Col. Yule have shown that his statements, so far as they are founded on personal observation, may be implicitly accepted."

a terrible siege by Demetrius, and excited the admiration of the Grecian States by its remarkable resistance. Demetrius was prevailed upon to grant peace on equitable terms. The Rhodians, thus delivered, became the greatest naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Rhodians erected the Colossus at the entrance of their harbour. It was an enormous statue of Apollo, the tutelary deity of the Island, 150 feet high, made of brass—each foot rested on one of the two rocks, at the mouth of the haven, which are 50 feet asunder, and vessels of the largest size sailed between the legs without striking their sails. Sixty years after, it was thrown down by an earthquake and lay there for nine centuries. It was sold to a Jew who loaded 900 camels with the brass, of which it was composed. The Chaldeans had made great progress in mathematics and substituted the solar for the lunar year in 747 B.C. Babylon was naturally fertile, "but its productiveness was much increased by artificial means, especially by cutting canals and forming dams across the great rivers, so as to afford facilities for irrigation. Its situation was highly favourable for commerce, because it occupied the central position between the richest and most civilised countries of the ancient world. The city of Babylon was one of the most splendid that ever existed." When Babylon was captured by the Medes and Persians in 538 B. C. it was found to be the most magnificent city in the ancient world. The Euphrates flowed through the midst of it, and was not only spanned by a bridge, but also underworked by a tunnel, designed for the exclusive use of the royal family. The temple of Belus, the royal palaces and the hanging gardens were reckoned among the greatest wonders of the world. Cyrus took this noble city by turning the river, a little above Babylon into a new channel and leading his army at night through the vacant river bed into the very citadel. The Phoenicians had great fame for extensive commerce. They traded with Spain, Italy, Sicily, North-Western

Africa and brought tin from Britain, amber from the Scilly Islands, and they established settlements on the Persian Gulf, and opened a communication with India. They sailed in their vessels to the rich districts in the south of Arabia and the opposite coast of Africa. Their trade by caravans, was scarcely less extensive. "Petra the capital of Idumea, was mostly hewn out of the rock, and deserved to be reckoned among the wonders of the world." It was for sometime the centre of a very profitable commerce. Sesostris, who ruled in Egypt, at least ten centuries before Christ, made extensive conquests, in Asia Minor, and his fleets scoured the coasts of Southern Asia and India. "During the reign of Necho, the circumnavigation of Africa was effected by the Phœnicians under his direction," and he also seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to cut a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Workmen, therefore, skilful in arts and sciences, were found all over the world, and according to the means supplied to them by the monarchs, raised monuments, which were able to last for many centuries. If, therefore, Abdur Razzak says "that over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions to the height of three, four, or five stories covered from top to bottom with figures in relief, and arranged in such a manner, that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face, and show at each moment a new chamber or a new hall," there do not seem to be many objections for giving this Persian ambassador credit for his veracity, or to believe in the existence of such movable buildings, at Vijayanagar, although, the present advanced civilisation, has not yet produced anything similar to them, in its capital cities or its great expositions. Statements of disinterested travellers, and men of high political or literary position, deserve great consideration at the hands of the compilers of their histories. Genius often lies dormant, opportunities speedily awaken it and patronage gives it touches of perfection. It is extremely difficult to

believe in certain statements by contemporary writers, which were made on the actual observation of events at one time, and which become as extremely improbable, from the fact of the disappearance of those circumstances, at a later period. One is struck with the statements of early writers, when they say, that Asoka had 10,000 elephants, that Krishna Deva Rayulu kept 4,000 elephants at his capital and that in the battle of Talikota, according to Ferista, the Mahomedans had 20,000 elephants and 600 pieces of artillery of all calibres. It is now difficult to believe such recorded facts, because, we have never seen such a large number of elephants, nor is it possible even to imagine that there are as many as 20,000 elephants living now in the whole of India. The productive power of the earth seems to be very curious, and obviously follows no recognised scientific methods. It varies, apparently, with certain magnetic and electric conditions which are obtained in it. In the body of the earth are subterranean currents of various forms of energies and their attractions and explosions, naturally cause changes in the terrestrial phenomena, which it would be difficult to understand, and more difficult to systematise, for purposes of human guidance. If the Deccan Mahomedans brought 20,000 elephants, what should have been their aggregate number in India, in the 16th century? It would be very interesting to study the causes for the fast decrease in the number of elephants in India just now. (?) Thus, we find at one time, a large array of great warriors and at another time, a host of celebrated literary men. At one time spring up a large number of saints and prophets, while another period is marked by a monotony of events, quite disgusting even to read. Great Kings and statesmen take their allotted turns and it would be difficult to say, when another good crop of them, could be had. A careful mind has to keep all these variations in the productive capacity of the

earth, before its vision and then try to grasp the situations described by men of unimpeachable character and veracity. Heroditus, the father of historians, describes the height of the walls of Babylon as three to four hundred feet. (?) This statement of an eye-witness is difficult to digest even by the creduious historians of the present period. (?) In the recent excavations in Mexico and other places in America, ruins of large temples, pyramids and palaces, evidencing a very high state of early civilisation, are largely found. In the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris, excavations carried on by archæologists, have shown the remnants of great cities, and a state of high civilisation in the early periods. Explorations in the deserts of Central Asia, point to the existence of empires and cities buried in sand. Dr. M. A. Stein, who made extensive explorations in Chinese Turkestan, states that the sculptures, frescoes, and objects of industrial art, dug out of the temples and houses, give us some idea of a great civilisation, connecting ancient China and India with the Classic West. Some of the cities excavated are about a hundred miles from cultivated lands. He thinks that the ancient occupants of these buried cities had a culture derived from India. "The preservative nature of the dry sand has kept intact, the timbers of the buildings and a host of inscriptions written in ink upon small wooden tablets. The characters are known India scripts; Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan characters are identifiable. Gardens with dead leaves still under trees, which are orchard trees, houses with pitchforks, mouse-traps, boots, shoemaker's lasts, silken fabrics clinging to the images in the temples, and colossal statues in stucco are among things found preserved, amid the surroundings of awful desolation." At Bamia, a small half ruined town in Afghanistan, at the foot of one of the summits of the Hindu Khoosh, are to be seen the largest statues in the world, the largest being 173 feet high, or 70 feet higher than the "Statue of Liberty." The cliffs which line the

valley contain the remains of massive stone towers, and their faces for 6 or 7 miles, are honeycombed by innumerable cave dwellings. The site of the ancient city is marked by mounds and the remains of walls and other buildings. These statues are carved in the niches in the cliffs and are coated with stucco. On each side of the niches are stair cases, leading to a chamber near the head, which shows traces of elaborate ornamentation in azure and gold.* Gigantic remains of still greater empires and peoples, have been respected by time in order that history may be better able to read the past and so enable us to touch the power of those ancient people with our hand—power and people so much loftier than our small self-satisfied present civilisation can boast. (?)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA BEFORE THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

The Mahomedans came to India long before the rulers of Vijayanagar made their appearance on the political stage. From the various records before us, it seems, as if the Mahomedans were greatly instrumental—unintentionally and indirectly of course—in bringing the Bukka dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar, in affording facilities for its early phenomenal growth and successes, and in having combined to overthrow it, when it grew into unwieldy proportions, and threatened to subdue the whole of India, by its huge armies, and countless resources. Thus

* Archæologists consider these figures as Baddhas. The ancient Sanskrit works are full of reference to Daityas, Asuras, and Rakshasas, who harassed the primitive Aryans in the North of India, and made their lives miserable by disturbing the sacrifices and carrying off their beautiful wives and daughters. These were supposed to have been giants, mentioned in the Rigveda, who possessed stone built castles, from which they issued and troubled the Aryans. References to these are also found in the early chapters of the Bible and of the huge towers they built.

in a sense, Mahomedans were both the cause for the rise of Vijayanagar and also for its destruction, when it became very powerful. We are not much concerned with the details of the earliest records of the Mahomedan invasions of India. They were mostly confined to the north-west portions of India in the beginning. Our interest becomes largely awakened in their history towards the 13th and 14th centuries. The Princes of the Bukka dynasty, who sat on the throne of Vijayanagar, had to face the danger of Mahomedan invasions, almost from the very first year of their accession to the throne, and it becomes, therefore, highly necessary to give here a brief sketch of the rise and spread of the Mahomedan power, with which the monarchs of Vijayanagar had to maintain incessant struggles, for independence, all through their career as rulers of this Hindu kingdom. The anarchy, after the death of Jambukeswara Raya (according to Raya Vamsavali) or the death of the Raja of Anagondi (according to Ferista and Nuniz) could not have lasted for any considerable time, and till the establishment of the Bukka dynasty, on the throne of Vijayanagar, the territories subordinate to it, seem to have been in the possession of powerful military Chiefs, who were locally strong enough to repel ordinary Mahomedan invasions, who were bitterly opposed to the Mahomedan rule, and who were only waiting for the appearance of a vigorous ruler on the throne of Vijayanagar, under whom they were very eager to place themselves, to be led against the Mahomedans, in the defence of their country, their religion and all that was dear and near, to them. We shall see later on, how Bukka and Harihara supplied this want, under the extraordinary talents of their Brahmin Minister, the sage Vidyaranya, and how willingly they were followed by all classes of Hindus in the defence of their country and religion.

A sketch of the Mahomedan history will also show, how the ancient Hindu dynasties, ruling in the North of

India, were shattered by the repeated attacks of the Mahomedans and Mogliuls, and how the latter were enabled to found their empire on the ruins of the kingdoms which were weak with age, disorganised with internal jealousies and quarrels, rotten by the dissipated character of their Princes, and thoroughly unfitted to stand against powerful foreign invasions, by that lamentable lack of national spirit and union, which finally ended in their defeat and utter overthrow. Before Mahomed of Ghazni, there were some invasions of India by the Persians and other Central Asian tribes; but their history may be omitted, as they seem to have made no permanent conquest, by which their power was consolidated in India. Mahomed of Ghazni claims to have invaded India 13 times from A.D. 1001 to A.D. 1030, to have defeated various Hindu Princes, and to have carried off immense wealth from India. It is clear, by reading the details of his different invasions of India, that he had no desire to make any permanent stay in India, and that, therefore, he greatly neglected to take any important part in its politics. His fierce iconoclastic principles, his unquenchable thirst for plunder, and his religious fanaticism to convert infidels into the faith of Islam, by open violence, appear to have been the foundations for all his Indian campaigns.*

His forcible conversion of the Hindus, his destruction and plunder of their sacred temples, his inhuman slaughter of their priests and bravest warriors, seem to have established in the hearts of the Hindu people, a terror and a hatred of the Mahomedans, which was, perhaps, never afterwards completely redeemed. During these invasions of Mahomed, the efforts of the Hindu Princes to resist them, were comparatively feeble and were marked by those

* When Mahomed captured the temple of Somnath, the Brahmins offered an immense sum if he spared the idol. But the Sultan with a blow of his mace disfigured the image and broke it to pieces, saying that his name should be handed down to posterity as the "breaker of idols, and not as their seller."

mutual jealousies and lack of co-operation, which finally resulted in their utter overthrow and dismemberment of their ancient dynasties. Even their greatest confederacy in A.D. 1006, does not seem to have amounted to a representation of the warlike powers of India; and was so quickly overthrown, that it scarcely deserves the name of coalition and combined resistance. The Rajput Prince, Anandapal of Lahore, was the only ruler who appears to have had the national honor really at heart. But unassisted and with limited resources Anandapal could do nothing to withstand this formidable invader. Mahomed's successors seemed to have kept on a struggle for supremacy in India—under the title of Ghazni dynasty—for nearly a century and-a-half, when they were overthrown by Mahomed Ghoor. The history of the Ghoor family is traced to a merchant, whose son fled to India from Ghazni to escape oppression. He was in India for some time, and, while returning to Ghazni with his son, he was drowned in a shipwreck, the son and a tiger being the only survivors of the whole crew. Eizood-ud-deen Hoosein, for so the son was called, fell in with robbers, was imprisoned twice, was liberated by the hand of Providence, and was taken into the service of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni. He married a royal Princess and was given the Principality of Ghoor as a dowry. He left seven sons, one of whom by name Kutb-ud-deen, married the daughter of Biram, Sultan of Ghazni, and founded Feroozkoh as his capital. He invaded Ghazni, but was imprisoned and put to death by the Sultan, which gave rise to the feuds between the houses of Ghoor and Ghazni. His brother Seiff-ud-deen Soori, escaped from the capital, collected an army, marched upon Ghazni, and captured it, to avenge his brother's death. The Sultan of Ghazni, who had fled, returned next year, and put to death Seiff-ud-deen and regained his empire. But the youngest brother of Seiff-ud-deen, called Alla-ud-deen Hoosein, invaded Ghazni, captured and pillaged it for

seven days, and destroyed all the noble edifices which had been raised there by the previous monarchs. This was in A.D. 1152. He appointed on his return to Ghoor his nephews Gheias-ud-deen and Moiz-ud-deen to the government of Ghoor, but subsequently imprisoned them for their rebellious spirit. They were afterwards released and restored to the Principality of Ghoor by Mullik Seiff-ud-deen, the son of Alla-ud-deen. After the death of Mullik, Gheias-ud-deen succeeded to the throne of Ghazni and appointed his brother Moiz-ud-deen to rule in Ghoor as his General. This was the famous Mahomed Ghoor, who invaded India, and established the Ghoor dynasty. His General, Mullik Kutb-ud-deen, who was originally a slave, captured the forts of Meerut and Delhi from the family of Chawand Ray, made Delhi the seat of his government, and converted large numbers of its inhabitants into the faith of Islam. Mahomed Ghoor returned to Ghazni, granting to his slave General, the Vice-regency of India. In A.D. 1195 Baha-ud-deen, his General, took the fort of Gwalior. A year later, the Sultan reduced the forts of Kalungor, Kalpi, and Budaoon. After the death of Kutb-ud-deen in A.D. 1210, his son-in-law Shums-ud-deen Altmish, succeeded him on the throne of Delhi. He led his army against Bihar, and Luknooty in 1225 and exacted tribute, from Gheias-ud-deen Baktayar Khilji, Ruler of Bengal, and appointed his son Nazir-ud-deen Mahomed to the Principality of Bengal. After successfully reducing Malwa and Gwalior, he captured Ujjain, and destroyed the stupendous temple of Maha Kali, which took 300 years to build. Raising the temple to the ground he destroyed all its idols, removing the most famous of them, such as that of Vikramaditya—to be posted as foot-steps to his mosque. He died in A.D. 1236. During the time of Altmish, the Mahomedan power had been established over the whole of Northern India, from the Indus to the Ganges, where the power of the Hindus was

completely broken. Such of the Native Princes as were permitted to govern their hereditary kingdoms, paid tribute; but the largest portion of the country, appears to have been under the direct control of the Mahomedans. His daughter Sultan Rezia Begum ruled, after him, for about three years with great ability and she was put to death by her brother Prince Beiram. The only notable event of Beiram's reign was an invasion of the Punjab by the Moghuls under Chengiz Khan in A.D. 1241. Beiram was put to death by his nobles and vizier, and was succeeded by his nephew, Alla-ud-deen Musood. During his short reign, two Moghul invasions took place, and the combined forces of the Sultan were defeated by the Moghuls, but they were finally repelled by the local authorities and had to retire after ravaging the country to a considerable extent. Nazir-ud-deen, who had been appointed to the Government of Bengal by his father Altmish, was unanimously invited by the nobles of Delhi to occupy the throne on account of the vicious habits of Musood, who had been already deposed and imprisoned by them. Nazir-ud-deen, was a General of rare ability, and valour. He was a patron of letters, and befriended the poor. By dint of his administrative skill and remarkable personal character, he was able to quell all disturbances in his dominions, restoring peace and order throughout his territories until his death in A.D. 1266.*

His reign brought peace and happiness to the State, and his virtuous private character formed an admirable

* Nazir-ud-deen was very young when he was appointed as the Ruler of Bengal by his father. His personal habits were very simple. He had only one wife, from whom he exacted all homely duties, down to even cooking for him, refusing to furnish her even the assistance of a servant. On one occasion when she complained of having burnt her fingers, he exhorted her to persevere and said that God would reward her for her industry and chastity. As for himself, he said, he was only a trustee of the State funds, and would allow of no waste in their expenses. Virtuous Princes live in the midst of the most vicious times. (?)

contrast to the profligate Princes who had preceded him. He removed many of the oldest and disaffected officers from the frontier posts, and replaced them by powerful and harmonious garrisons on the west, whence the Moghul invasions might be apprehended.

He reduced the greater part of Rajputana, and the territories between the Ganges and the Jumna. However, the Mewatees and other Rajput tribes, rebelled against him in A.D. 1258; and they were only subjugated after fighting many bloody battles, with great loss of life on both sides. This monarch seems to have left no children according to Ferista, and Gheias-ud-deen Bulbun, who had been his vizier, during the 20 years of Nazir-ud-deen's reign, ascended the throne without any opposition. Like many great men of those times, he was originally a Turkish slave, and rose to high power under Altmish. Although a slave, he was a great patron of letters, and after his accession to the throne, his Court was considered the most learned and dignified in Asia. He claims to have given refuge to no less than 15 Princes of Central Asia, who had been dispossessed of their kingdoms by the growing power of the Moghuls, and allotted to each sumptuous establishment at Delhi. The etiquette of his Court was very strict, and his public processions and ceremonials were the most magnificent that had ever been seen in India. Although given to drinking in his early days, he not only gave up the evil habit after his accession to the throne, but also strictly prohibited its sale or manufacture in his dominions. He repressed public immorality with the utmost severity. The Mewatees rebelled again in A.D. 1266, the year of his accession to the throne, but they were put down, and slaughtered indiscriminately. There were several other rebellions, but they were put down with equal severity and effect. The most formidable rebellion, however, was raised by Toghral Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, who had assumed the title of King in A.D. 1270.

Two successive expeditions, which had been despatched against the rebel Viceroy had utterly failed, and the Sultan undertook the third in person to punish Toghral Khan. Mullik Mokunder, one of the King's officers, discovered the camp of the rebel Viceroy, charged into it with 30 of his bravest men and succeeded in putting them into rout under great confusion, as the camp-followers, laboured under the impression that the whole army of the Sultan of Delhi was on them. Toghral, who fled away, was pursued and killed. Bulbun let his revenge in full upon the rebels, and slaughtered not only the males, but also innocent women and children in such large numbers, that in the end, being disgusted with the massacre of innocent people by their sovereign, the law officers and religious advisers of the Sultan, strongly remonstrated upon his butcheries, and the Sultan had to give in to their combined protests. In A.D. 1267 Sher Khan, who had been appointed as Governor of the Western Frontier, by the late King, died, and Prince Mahomed, the eldest son and heir to Bulbun was appointed as his successor. Sometime after this the Moghuls invaded India, but Prince Mahomed engaged and defeated them, but in a chance medley, at the close of the action, he was killed. This sad death preyed heavily upon the old Sultan, and he died in A.D. 1286, having reigned in great splendour and glory for 21 years. His grandson Kei Kobad succeeded him, but gave himself up to debauchery, leaving the executive government in the hands of his Minister, Nizam-ud-deen. His father Kurra Khan, second son of Bulbun, was ruling as Governor in Bengal. He came to Delhi, advised his son to be careful, and warned him of the serious consequences which would follow from such mismanagement, and he returned to Bengal. The youth, instead of listening to the salutary advice of his father, plunged himself into a vortex of effiminate pleasures, and brought on paralysis. The Minister was poisoned to death, and three men—officers

of the Court,—raised themselves into power, of whom Jelal-ud-deen Feroze, of the Khilji tribe, was the Chief. In A.D. 1288, the King was murdered by a Tartar, and with him ended the dynasty of the Slave Kings in India. Jelal-ud-deen proclaimed himself as the Emperor of Delhi and to ensure his succession undisturbed, he caused the infant son of his master to be murdered.

Ferista says that the Khiljis were a tribe, originally belonging to Turkestan, but who settled down in the mountains west of the Punjab when they were driven out of their country. They were a warlike race and many of them entered the service under the sovereigns of Ghazni and Delhi. Some of them rose to very high offices. Jelal-ud-deen was the son of the Governor of Samara and rose rapidly in the service of the late King. He was 70 years old at the time of his accession to the throne, and he assumed the reins of the Government, probably with a great distrust, in his own powers, to do justice to the exalted rank, to which he had raised himself. He professed great humility and did not like to ascend the throne or ride into the palace. His elevation produced no external change in pomp or ceremony and he received his former friends in the same simple style, in which he was wont to receive them before he became the King of Delhi.

Delhi became a point of attraction for all learned men of Asia, and poets, musicians, dancers and singers were liberally patronised and encouraged, Amir Khusroo, one of the sweetest of the Persian poets, was appointed librarian to the King. In the suppression of the numerous rebellions, and the treatment which he afterwards gave to the rebels, Jelal-ud-deen showed such absence of feelings of revenge and hatred, that his courtiers—accustomed to scenes of bloodshed and wholesale butcheries—were greatly alarmed and remonstrated strongly with their sovereign on his leniency in awarding punishments, and painted in glowing colors the fatal consequences, which

would flow from such an irresolute and lenient policy. To such friends, he is stated to have said quietly thus:— "My friends, I am now old and weak and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding more blood."

This sudden leniency on the part of the Emperor, however, gave rise to much increase in crime of all sorts. Many of the Governors openly rebelled, and a conspiracy was made to depose the King. One of the conspirators secretly gave information to the King, at a meeting they held for this purpose, and the King sent his royal guards to bring all the conspirators before him. They expected no less than death as their punishment, but the King to the surprise of all, drew his sword, flung it before them, and challenged the boldest amongst them to use it against him if they dared. (?) All were taken aback at this nobility of the King's character and prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. The King roused himself to a sense of duty and marched against the rebels in Malwa; but the campaign proved inconclusive owing to his aversion to cause further bloodshed. In A. D. 1292, however, he repelled, with great activity and vigour, an invasion of the Moghuls and one of their Chiefs joined him with 3,000 of his followers, and received his daughter in marriage. Ferista says that these Moghuls became Mahomedans, thereby implying that the Islamic faith had, not as yet, been embraced by some of the distant provinces of Northern Asia. In A. D. 1293, the King moved on to Malwa and reduced it to obedience. His nephew, Alla-ud-deen, now rising into notice, brought the Hindus of Bhilsa, and other Central Indian Districts, to subjection. These services procured for him the Government of Oudh, in addition to that of his own Province Kurra. Encouraged by his recent successes, Alla-ud-deen requested the Emperor to grant him permission to make an expedition into the countries of Southern India, which had not been, as yet, penetrated by the Mahomedan conquerors. He set

out with 8,000 horse, in A. D. 1294 for the Deccan. He seems to have apparently marched by the line of Saugor and Jubbulpore, for he debouched from the tableland of Central India, by the passes into Berar, upon its capital Ellichpur. This was held by a Jain Raja called El, who seems to have been a feudatory of the King of Deoghur.

A severe engagement appears to have taken place, in the plains of Ellichpur, and from thence he pushed on to Deoghur. It was considered the most impregnable fortress in India and was the capital of the Devagiri Yadavas, whose sway extended almost over the whole country of Maharastra.*

Alla-ud-deen, with all his resources and activity, could make no impression on this impregnable fortress, but he closely besieged the city. Rama Deva, its King, stoutly defended it, but as the provisions ran short, the King was obliged to come to some terms, and promised to pay a heavy ransom, on which the Mahomedans consented to retire. But at this juncture, the Raja's son Sankara Deva, appeared with the main army, and engaged the Mahomedans with great courage. But he was eventually defeated and Rama Deva had now to buy his liberty by payment of a still larger sum to the Mahomedans, than he had fixed as his ransom before. The amount named by Ferista appears to be quite incredible, but there seems to be no doubt whatever, that it must have been very large. Alla-ud-deen

* One of the strongest hill fortresses in India may be seen in Devagiri. This was originally a conical shaped hill, rising out of the plain, and separated, rather more than a mile from the tableland to the north. The sides of the hill had been scarped perpendicularly for a height of 130 feet and thus making it inaccessible. This was probably done during the time of the excavation of the cave temples of Ellora. A broad ditch was formed round the hill, and there was no passage to its summit, but through a tunnel which commencing in the ditch, had been led through the interior of the hill itself which was composed of solid trap-rock. This impregnable fortress was unique in India, then, as it is, now. It was utterly inaccessible, but the city at its foot where the Raja dwelt, was an open one and therefore fully exposed to the attacks of the enemy. See page 72.

then formed the infamous design of murdering his unsuspecting aged uncle, and with a view to accomplish his diabolical object, he invited his uncle Jelal-ud-deen, Sultan of Delhi, to his Province of Kurra, and in the meeting on the barge had him assassinated in A. D. 1295 by two Tartars, whom he had engaged for this nefarious purpose. Alla-ud-deen was crowned King of Delhi with great pomp in A.D. 1296. Ferista's remarks, about the new King's first charities, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, to obliterate his treacherous murder of his aged uncle, are very apt and deserve full quotation. The learned historian thus observes:—"He, who ought to have been received with detestation, became the object of admiration, to those who could not see the blackness of his deeds, through the splendour of his munificence."*

The two sons of the late sovereign were finally secured by the usurper and put to death, in a barbarous manner. After the murder of these Princes, Alla-ud-deen, thought his position was secure, and he commenced an earnest and in many respects at first, a beneficial government. From the varied and romantic events of the period, the several expeditions sent into Southern India, as yet not well known to the Mahomedans, and the strange character of the King himself, the reign of this Prince, appears to be one of the most remarkable and interesting of the early Mahomedan sovereigns of India. Alla-ud-deen quickly redeemed all the weakness and irresolution of the previous sovereign. In A. D. 1297 he sent a force under Aluf Khan

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* Sidy Modin, a celebrated Dervish was executed for a plot against the life of Jelal-ud-deen, and his curse as he died, against the Sultan and his posterity, appears to have affected the monarch very deeply. In A. D. 1291 there was a severe famine and the King's eldest son Khan Kannan fell a victim to a raging epidemic. Both these events were attributed by the people to the curse of the holy Dervish. There were many who remembered the curse of the Dervish as against the King, and believed it was duly fulfilled, not only as regarded the actual murderer, but afterwards in the person of Alla-ud-deen, himself, who, though at first appeared fortunate, and even glorious, ended his days in great misery and pain.

to Guzerat, and Anhulwara was again taken. The city of Cambay was held to ransom and a large sum of money was obtained. A slave named Kaffur was presented by a merchant there, to Aluf Khan, who afterwards became the famous General Mallik Kaffur. During his reign, there were four Moghul invasions, with forces numbering up to 200,000 men, but they were all eventually repelled. Elated with his successes, the Sultan entertained the idea of propagating a new faith of his own and of conquering the world like Alexander. But these mad projects had do be abandoned after a while. In A. D. 1299, he undertook a campaign against Runtunbhora, in which he was severely wounded and left for dead on the field by his uncle Rookankhan, who reporting the King's death, ascended the throne. Alla-ud-deen recovered partly and appeared at his camp where the soldiery received him with great enthusiasm. Rookankhan was captured and beheaded. After these successful campaigns, he had much time to devote to the improvement of his civil administration and crime was put down for a time, drinking was prohibited throughout his kingdom, roads were repaired, and highway robberies became rare. The revenues were exorbitantly fixed, and exacted, and the poorer classes of the Hindus, were treated with no consideration. The rich, among both the communities, were tortured to give up their wealth, and his edicts, some good and many mischievous, in their nature, were introduced into almost all the departments of the State. In A. D. 1303, he despatched an army by way of Bengal to Warangal, then ruled by the Narapathi branch of the Andhra dynasty. His own previous expeditions had opened the way to the Mahomedans in the Deccan and their inroads became frequent and unbearable.

He marched to Chittoor with an army and reduced it; and then he wanted to go himself to the Deccan, but having received intelligence of the arrival of 200,000 Moghul horse, he hastily returned to defend his capital

Delhi. The Moghuls ravaged up to the very gates of Delhi, but suddenly retreated, having apparently been struck by an unaccountable fear. Ali Beg, a Moghul leader, with 40,000 horse, penetrated as far as Amroha in Rajputana, but was defeated in A. D. 1304, with heavy loss by Toghlak Khan, the brave Governor of the Punjab. The Raja of Chittoor was captured and cast into a prison at Delhi, but he afterwards escaped with the help of his daughter, recovered Chittoor and became a feudatory of the King, on condition of furnishing 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot to the imperial army.*

In A. D. 1305 the Moghuls again invaded India, but were defeated on the banks of the Indus by Toghlak. The captive Moghuls were sent to Delhi, put to death and a pillar was built on their skulls. But this inhuman treatment, instead of deterring the Moghuls from further incursions, brought them once more in the same year; but they were again defeated by Toghlak, who pursued them into Cabul and Ghazni and levied heavy contributions from those cities, which restrained the Moghul incursions for some years afterwards. In A. D. 1306, Rama Deva, King of Devagiri, having neglected to send his tribute for three years, an expedition was despatched against him under Mallik Kaffur, the famous slave General, with 100,000 horse. The Raja of Devagiri, finding it hopeless to oppose such a formidable force, entertained Mallik Kaffur hospitably and accompanied him to Delhi. Rama Deva was honorably

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* The Raja of Chittoor had a beautiful daughter whom the Sultan demanded as the price of his release. The Raja feigned consent, and communicated the news to his daughter. She cleverly determined to make these terms the means of her father's release and proceeded towards Delhi, furnished with the King's pass to visit her father. When she was near the city, she filled the litters, with her devoted warriors, as if they had been her female attendants, and got admission into the prison where her father was confined, unsuspectingly. The guards were easily overpowered, and as she had horses provided for their escape the father and daughter rode through the city and escaped.

treated by the Sultan of Delhi, and this kindness, bound the Raja, to remain as a faithful feudatory of the Mahomedan sovereign during his lifetime. The army, which was despatched in A. D. 1303, through Bengal against the kingdom of Warangal was unsuccessful and retreated after severe sufferings and loss of men. Again in A. D. 1309 Mallik Kaffur was despatched against Warangal. He captured the fort after a long siege, and concluded a treaty by which the Raja had to pay a heavy sum of money, and tribute annually. In A. D. 1310 Mallik Kaffur marched against Dwarasamudra, which was in the highest state of prosperity and which had survived the destruction of the Chalukyas of Kalyan by the Yadavas of Devagiri. Dwarasamudra was captured easily, and sacked and the magnificent temple of Siva was severely injured. The booty obtained by Mallik Kaffur was immense being 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold. The amount appears incredible, but it is a curious circumstance to be noted, that no silver was found, the idols, the ornaments, public and private, and the plate being all of beaten gold.*

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* This temple is the well known temple of Halebedu, in Mysore, and it exists now in much of its original beauty and perfection, as one of the most admirable specimens of florid Hindu architecture in India. [See note, page 61.] A reasonable doubt may arise as regards the immensity of the wealth supposed to have been carried away from the plundering of the South Indian royal cities and the sack of the grand temples, which adorned their capitals. Ferista says that Mallik Kaffur presented his sovereign 96,000 maunds of gold. The maund in different parts of India varies considerably. In the extreme South it weighs the least, while in the extreme North of India, it weighs the most. I was in Ahmednagar for a few days and found the maund there, as consisting of 40 seers of 80 tolas each, or about 3,200 rupees weight. This is now usually called the Bengal maund or that which weighs 80lbs. 96,000 maunds multiplied by the number of tolas 3,200 (rupee weights), will give the huge figure of 307,200,000 tolas weight of gold. This precious metal, coveted as it is, by all nations and at all times, was cheap during the Middle Ages and if we multiply the above figure of the weight of gold in tolas by about Rs.15 per tola, its price then, we get the enormous value of Rs. 4,915,200,000, or about 490 crores of rupees (about 325 millions sterling) at the present rate of gold. This, however, does not seem to be

Many of the Moghuls captured were converted to Mahomedanism, and the King had taken them into service. For some unaccountable reason, he conceived a dislike to them and put to death 15,000 of them in a single day.

The large booty from the South, coupled with the punctual collection of the increased revenue, had filled Delhi with wealth, and the number of public buildings, mosques, mausoleums and colleges, built during this time exceeded those of any other period. The King's territories had attained their highest extent, and with it the King's temper—always eccentric—began to alter considerably. He gave Mallik Kaffur the direction of public affairs and appointed his young sons to offices of the highest trust, which had to be managed by corrupt deputies. Mallik Kaffur undertook another expedition in A. D. 1312 into the Deccan, and stayed in Deoghur, after putting its King Sankara Deva to death. He collected all the tributes due to the Delhi sovereign, and forwarded the accumulated treasures to his master.

The King growing old, could not live without his favourite Mallik Kaffur, and therefore, he was recalled. But

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such a large amount as to make the readers disbelieve in the statement of Ferista altogether. When Bednur was captured by Hyder, he seems to have carried away about 20 crores of rupees. The Boer War cost the British about 400 crores. The Russo-Japanese War has already cost the contending parties about this sum or even more. When Mahomed of Ghazni plundered the temple of Somnath, he is said to have secured immense treasure. Col. Dew, in his translation of Ferista estimates the amount taken away by Mallik Kaffur as 100 million sterling. Mr. Sewell says that Ferista must have meant the Ahmednagar *mun* which "weighs" 163½ lbs. I do not know where he got this information from. He gives the weight of this gold as 15,672,000 lbs. A *lb.* weighs 40 tolas, and this will give 626,880,000 tolas of gold. Multiplying this again by Rs.15 per tola of gold we get 9,403,200,000 or about 940 crores of rupees. Hawkin, writing early in the 17th century, gives about 55 lbs. for a maund, and Middleton about the same time fixes its value at 33 lbs. In the Madras Presidency the maund generally weighs 24 or 25 lbs. Even if the gold weight is taken as per Madras standard, the cost would be about 150 crores of rupees—certainly a large sum for a plundering slave Commander.

Mallik, seeing the infirm condition of the monarch, conceived the ambitious project of succeeding him. With this view Mallik plotted and succeeded in confining the two sons of the Sultan and his wife. To add to the King's vexation, Guzerat broke into rebellion, and the troops sent there were defeated. The Rajputs of Chittoor expelled the Mahomedans, and Haripal Deva, son-in-law of Rama Deva of Devagiri, expelled the Mahomedan garrisons from the Deccan. The King died with these miserable reflections in A. D. 1316. Mallik at once produced a deed, alleged to have been written by the King, in which Oomar, his 4th son, was nominated as his successor under the regency of Mallik; and the boy was immediately placed on the throne. Mallik Kaffur caused the two eldest sons of the sovereign to be blinded and made an attempt to murder his 3rd son Moobaruk. This plot, however, failed by the presence of mind of Moobaruk, who readily gave his jewels to the executioners sent to kill him, and escaped. These ruffians quarrelled over their booty and the affair was brought to the knowledge of the officer who commanded the royal guards. This grateful officer attacked Mallik Kaffur in his own apartments and put him to death. Moobaruk was crowned in A. D. 1317. His first measures were beneficial and calculated to bring order and peace. Many captives were released, all restrictions on trade and agriculture were removed, and wise regulations were introduced for the administration of laws. His vicious nature, however, was not long in making itself exhibited. In A. D. 1318 he marched to Devagiri, defeated Haripal, and caused him to be flayed alive in a most shocking manner.

On his return to the capital, the King's excesses knew no bounds. He was rarely sober, and perpetrated the most frightful cruelties in his drunken moments. Ferista says, that this King went to such excesses, as to dress himself as a common actress, and go with vile public

women, to dance at the houses of the nobility. The depravity of a royal mind could hardly be imagined to descend to lower depths of degradation and want of personal respect. Mallik Khusroo, originally a Hindu slave, who rose rapidly in the King's service, and who was promoted by him to responsible posts, had been sent from Devagiri to the Carnatic, and the spoil he obtained was so great that he conceived the project of declaring his independence in the Deccan. Although his ambitious desires proved unsuccessful, he managed to conspire against the King, and had him murdered in A. D. 1321. The conspirators, assisted by Khusroo, murdered, not only the royal Princes, but also the younger children of Alla-ud-deen. Next day after the murder of Moobaruk, Khusroo, ascended the throne under the title of Nazir-ud-deen and took Deval Devi, the widow of Khizer Khan, to himself. News of this horrible revolution at the capital, and the cold blooded murder of the royal Princes, spread rapidly throughout the Provinces, and Ghazy Beg Toghlak, the brave and faithful Viceroy of Lahore, and other Chiefs marched at once upon Delhi. Khusroo, however, was not without courage and resources, and hastily collecting all the royal guards and such other troops as were available, he took the field against the invading armies.

But before the hardy veterans of the frontier marches, these effiminate soldiers of Delhi, had no chance of success. Khusroo was thoroughly defeated on the field of Soorasatti (Saraswathi), and his forces were routed. He fled, but was soon captured and executed. Toghlak received next day the congratulations of the nobles of the city and was presented with the keys. He accompanied them to the city. Ferista remarks, that "on arriving at the Palace of the Thousand Minarets, Toghlak wept bitterly and declared, that he had been induced to draw the sword, only to rid the world of a monster, and that, if none of the royal race survived, he would serve, whoever, among the

nobility, might be chosen as King. The multitude with one shout stated, that he only was fit to reign, that he, who had often delivered them from the Moghuls, had now freed them from a horrible tyranny, and thereupon taking him up, they carried him into the great hall of audience and seating him on the throne hailed him as "Shah Jehan" or King of the world." It is really difficult to imagine any scene of history, more impressive and exciting than this. The dynasty of the Khiljis had thus passed away in a wild storm of revolution and murder, attended with shocking excesses, after it had continued for a period of 33 years. The change was quite a welcome to the people, as they had suffered so deeply and so long.

We have seen how Ghazi Beg Toghlak ascended the throne amidst the shouts of the people. He never disappointed their hopes, nor proved himself unworthy of the position into which he was raised by the nobility. He assumed the simple title of Gheias-ud-deen Toghlak. He was a Governor of mature age, and ripe experience, and was brave and faithful to his sovereign. During his long term of viceroyalty in Lahore, he had extensive territories entrusted to him, and he was able enough, to repel the frequent incursions of the Moghuls, to which reference has already been made. His first measures restored confidence and system. Regularity in the public administration of officers was at once established. Codes of law were compiled and put into practice in the Civil and Criminal Courts. Under his personal care, extensive repairs had been made to the public buildings, and the city of Delhi wore altogether a new aspect. He strengthened the Western Frontiers by forts and garrisons, and the incursions of the Moghuls were effectually prevented during the remaining years of his reign. Devagiri and Warangal, had, however, revolted, and the King despatched his eldest son, Aluf Khan, to the Deccan, with a numerous army to restore order and bring the refractory Princes to subjection.

Devagiri submitted, but Pratapa Rudra II. made a stout resistance in the field, and when he was obliged to return into the fortress of Warangal, defended it so desperately that the Mahomedan invader could not take the fort easily. During the protracted siege of Warangal, an epidemic—probably cholera—swept off hundreds of troops among the besiegers every day, which not only terrified the rest, but prevented the siege operations from being pushed on with vigour. A fresh panic was caused by reports of the death of the King in Delhi, and many of the officers actually left the camp with their divisions for Delhi. Thus neglected, the Prince had no choice, but to raise the siege and return with the small remnants of the forces left with him. Two months later, he collected, however, a fresh army, and proceeded to the siege of Warangal, to redeem his honor. He was more careful and circumspect on this occasion, than before, and garrisoned Beder and Kowlas, when they were taken, with a view to strengthen the position of the main army, in case there should be any reverses. He reduced the Rajah of Jajnugger to subjection and exacted tribute from him.*

He besieged Warangal and captured it after a gallant defence. Pratapa Rudra Deva and his family were sent to Delhi and Mahomedan officers were appointed to rule over Warangal. In A.D. 1325 the King visited his Eastern Frontier and met there Kurra Khan, son of Bulbon, who had retained his position as virtual King throughout these interminable revolutions. He was now confirmed in his government of Bengal and permitted to assume the royal insignia. The King returned to Delhi in February, where his son had prepared a great pavilion for his reception on the plain beyond the city. On the conclusion of the entertainment, the Prince and the nobles preceded the

* Jajpur was for some time capital of the Orissa Kings. By this it seems that the Sultan had subjugated Orissa.

King, and when the latter was about to leave the building, the roof fell in and the King was killed.*

Gheias-ud-deen Toghlak had reigned four years and some months.

The character of Gheias-ud-deen, appears to great relief, in the midst of a series of revolutions and bloodshed, murders and ingratitude, and the violent brutal passions which prompted men of those days to commit excesses in their insatiable scramble for power and wealth. He was a faithful and brave General, in whose mind infamous and traitorous thoughts never crossed. After his victory over Khusroo, he made a search for the survivors of the royal family, and finding none, he openly told the nobility, that he would serve faithfully any one of them, who would ascend the throne. He gave a sound education to his son and he himself seems to have been learned. He patronised men of letters, and his short administration gave ample proof of the generous instincts which prompted him in the discharge of his exalted duties.

Aluf Khan or Mohomed Toghlak succeeded him. He was an eloquent speaker; his letters were models of style and good composition; his memory was remarkable; he had studied all the sciences of the period; he was specially advanced in mathematics and medicine, and in remarkable cases he used to attend on patients himself and note down the symptoms of the progress of their complaints. He was an adept in the study of the Grecian philosophy and was extremely fond of discussions with learned men. He was a strict religionist, and omitted no prayers or ceremonials, and did not tolerate their omission by others.

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* Ferista, after a careful perusal of the histories of the period, aquits the Prince of all designs against his father's life. There were, however, some, who ventured to say, that the death of the King was intentionally brought about by the Prince, to enable him to succeed to the throne at an early date.

Ferista says that, in spite of these splendid accomplishments, the Prince was totally devoid of mercy or of consideration for his people. Mr. Elphinstone rightly speculates as to whether the King's nature had not a strong tincture of insanity about it. This was Mohomed Toghlak usually styled "the mad." On his accession to the throne he distributed extravagant sums of money among his nobles and adherents. The irrepressible Moghuls appeared again and overran the country up to the gates of Delhi. Mohomed displayed an unaccountable and mischievous inactivity foreign to his general character and bravery, in ransoming his dominions by paying a large sum of money to the Moghuls, which, as was proved in the sequel, only stimulated the Moghuls to renewed invasions of his territories.

When this danger passed off, he marched into the Deccan, completely subjugated it, and, returning to Delhi, he annexed Lucknow and Chittagong. These successes were more nominal than real, for the internal administration of the State affairs were shamefully neglected. The currency became debased; the King's extravagances knew no bounds; his credit was shaken; he tried to introduce a paper currency which added further confusion to his embarrassed finances; agriculture became impossible under the exactions imposed on the land and its produce, and large tracts were left uncultivated; the people were driven to plundering and devastating the country, as their legitimate occupations were found impracticable. He raised 370,000 horse for the conquest of Persia, but the salaries of the troops fell into arrears; they dispersed and pillaged the regions they passed through. In A. D. 1337 the King despatched 100,000 horse, under Khusroo Mallik, his sister's son, to conquer China, but the whole army miserably perished in the snows of the Himalayas, and such of those who returned from this mad expedition were cruelly put to death by the King. In the meanwhile the

Viceroy of the Deccan, Baha-ud-deen, another nephew of the King, had rebelled against him, and the Sultan sent Khaja Jehan, the Governor of Guzerat, against his nephew. A battle was fought near Devagiri, the rebel was defeated with considerable loss, and he fled with the remnants of his army to the Raja of Kampili in the Carnatic. The Raja of Anagondi gave shelter to the rebel, and appears to have advanced to Kampili to oppose the Sultan when he came in person to conduct the war.*

The rebel's position in Kampili, however, was found to be so formidable that the Emperor himself, had to return and resume the operations in person in the Deccan. In the several encounters he had with the Raja of Kampili, he seems to have been first unsuccessful, but he eventually defeated the Raja, and forced him to take shelter in his formidable fortress of Anagondi. He was besieged, and the place was captured after stout resistance and the Raja of Kampili was thrown into prison. His nephew had fled for protection to the Ballala Raja of Dwarasamudra, who had removed his capital to Toonoor. The Sultan pursued him there, and besieged the capital of the Ballala Raja, who very prudently, handed him over to the Sultan, by whom

* Ferista says that when the Sultan of Delhi, marched against the Raja of Kampili, he was twice routed by the Raja's forces. But during the third invasion of Mohomed Toghlak against the Raja of Kampili, the combined armies were defeated, and Baha-ud-deen fled to Dwarasamudra. This was in A. D. 1338. The Raja of Kampili was thrown into prison. This statement of Ferista seems to be irreconcilable with the facts already narrated, in the previous chapters. If Vijayanagar or rather Vidyanagar was founded in A. D. 1336 and Harihara I. ruled over it with the help of his Brahmin Minister Vidyaranya, there could have been no Raja of Kampili to be thrown into prison, unless it was Harihara I. himself. Raya Vamsavali says that Vidyaranya ruled for about 10 years independently, *i.e.* from A. D. 1336 to A.D. 1346 and then placed Harihara on the throne of Vijayanagar. It is possible to conceive that a General of the Anagondi forces, who had been despatched by Harihara to Kampili, to oppose the Sultan may have been captured, and thrown into prison and that being in a great hurry to capture his nephew Baha-ud-deen, the Sultan of Delhi, marched southwards to Dwarasamudra, and seems to have taken no further notice of these Kampili affairs. See Chapter II.

Baha-ud-deen was flayed alive, and his flesh cooked and given to be eaten by the females. He returned to Devagiri, and changed its name into Dowlatabad. He built fresh lines of fortifications, and wanted to make it his capital. He now compelled the citizens of Delhi to proceed to Devagiri and in these mad projects of Mohomed Toghlak, hundreds of thousands of people perished miserably. In A. D. 1340 the Viceroy of Multan rebelled against the King, but he was speedily taken and put to death. Bengal rebelled but the King was not able to put it down. Malabar also had risen against him, and the King proceeded thither by way of Warangal. He fell ill, but having recovered, he returned, by way of Berar, where he built a mausoleum in honor of a tooth, which he lost.

In A. D. 1344 Krishna Naik, the son of Pratapa Rudra II. of Warangal, removed to the city of Bijnagar, which had been previously founded, and in concert with Ballala Deva of Dwarasamudra, aided by all the martial Hindus of their dominions, drove the Mahomedan garrison from Warangal to Dowlatabad and cleared the country of all their posts. From A. D. 1344 to A. D. 1347 the record of the King's reign, is little more than a series of rebellions and disturbances in the distant provinces. In A. D. 1347 he proceeded to Guzerat, and while employed there against a local Chief, he heard that most of his troops in the Deccan had mutinied and set up a new King.

Devagiri was in the possession of the rebels and the King besieged it. While thus employed, he heard of a fresh rebellion breaking out in Guzerat. The King, therefore, had to leave Dowlatabad, to the care of his Viceroy of Berar, Ismail-ul-Mulk, to conduct the siege and himself returned to Guzerat, where order was speedily restored. But in the meanwhile, an officer of the rebels, by name Hoosein Gungoo, had engaged the Viceroy Ismail-ul-mulk and utterly defeated him and drove the King's troops from

the Deccan. Hoosein Gungoo now proclaimed himself as the King of the Deccan, under the title of Alla-ud-deen Hoosein Gungoo Bahmini. He was destined to become the founder of a noble and long enduring dynasty in the Deccan.

In A.D. 1351 the Sultan of Delhi marched to punish some Rajput Princes in Sindh, who had given refuge to some of the rebels. He ate too much of the fish found in the Indus, caught fever and died. He had reigned 27 years in an almost uninterrupted succession of bloody reprisals, of rebellions and disturbances, and of executions and wholesale massacres, which are unparalleled even in the revolutionary history of Delhi. During the time of Mohomed Toghlak, the empire had reached its utmost limits. The boundaries, may be roughly stated thus, of this empire during the time of Mohomed. To the North the provinces of the Punjab, Delhi and its dependencies with Oudh and Bengal formed an unbroken line of possessions from which all former Hindu kingdoms and principalities had disappeared under Mahomedan oppression and rapid conquests. In Central India, Malwa and Behar were conquered and annexed. But in Rajputana, the Hindu Princes held their territories paying tribute to the Delhi sovereign. In the west, Guzerat and Multan were royal provinces. But lower Sindh remained in the hands of Soomera Rajputs. The dominions, of the Yadavas of Davagiri, had been incorporated into the empire and their dynasty ceased to exist, but some members of this family seem to have escaped to their estates near the Western Ghauts, where they felt their position secure and were not interfered with. Continuing his narration, Ferista says:—"Warangal had fallen and the eastern territories of the Andhras had been annexed, but a branch of this family appears to have removed to Bijnagar, on the Thungabhadra, and founded a kingdom there which long resisted the Mahomedans of the Deccan and rose to great

power and eminence." In the Deccan proper the dominions of the late Yadava kingdom bounded the conquests of the Toghlaks. They included Berar to the north, Davagiri and its dependencies, and extended west to the Malabar Coast, and part of the northern Konkan, including Raichore, Mudgol, Gulburga, Beder, Bijapur, and Gunjooty. But the Mahomedan possession of the western part of the Deccan (Satara, Kolahpur and Poona), seems to have been doubtful and these were apparently under the sway of the native Mahratta Princes. The line of boundary to the south and south-west may be roughly represented by the rivers Thungabhadra and Krishna. The Ballalas still retained semblance of royal power in Mysore, but we have seen that they had lost much of their real independence. This was finally absorbed by the Princes of Bijnagar into their own territories.

Mallik Kaffur, is alleged, by the Mahomedan historians, to have penetrated into the extreme south of India and to have built a mosque at Setu Bundar Rameswaram. The Cholas, Pandyas, and the Hoysalas, had lost much of their independence and power and it appears, that the remnants of their dynasties, holding nominal sway over unimportant provinces, received their last shocks for dismemberment by the conquering Mahomedans, who pressed from the North. The Mahomedan empire of Delhi was too large, and too unwieldy to remain long in the hands of weak and unprincipled monarchs, who succeeded on the throne of Delhi, with astonishing rapidity, and whose revolutionary state of affairs at the capital, hardly enabled them, to spare their attention to the proper controlling of distant provinces, and affording the necessary protection. This unsatisfactory state of affairs in Delhi, gave splendid opportunities for able and energetic adventurers in all parts of India to establish their own dynasties, and to defy, with strong hopes of success, the shaky authority of the nominal sovereigns of Delhi. From this time forward, the

monarchs of Delhi, do not seem to have made any serious attempts to regain their authority in the Deccan, and the political drama there, had to be played by Chiefs, Mahomedan and Hindu, who rose to power by dint of their own personal exertions and by their capabilities in the military art.

The history of the foundation of the Bahmini kingdom and the dynasty which sat upon it for several centuries, requires more than a passing notice here. Hoosein Gungoo, who defeated Ismail-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy and General of Mohomed Toghlak, was originally a poor menial in the employ of a Brahmin of Delhi, named Gungoo. When ploughing one of his master's fields, he chanced to turn up a pot filled with gold coins. He took the treasure to his Brahmin master, who, appreciating his honesty, constructed his horoscope, and found therein combinations of planets which foretold that he was destined to obtain royal honours. The Brahmin requested, that if this prediction of his, should prove correct, his own name, "Gungoo," might be associated with his dynasty. "It is perhaps the best confirmation of this story, that at a period in which a fierce fanaticism and hatred of Hindu idolators, was a proud distinction, coveted by most Mahomedans of high rank, Zuffer Khan, when he became a King, should have assumed Gungoo Bahmini, as the distinguishing title of his dynasty in preference to any Mahomedan appellation. A title it continued to possess till its extinction. Gungoo Hoosein went originally under the name of Zuffer Khan, and was introduced to the King of Delhi, through his Brahmin master, and rose in his service, till he attained to a high military command in the Deccan. The struggle for superiority in the Deccan was carried on between Zuffer Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of Berar, but the royal troops were utterly routed and the Viceroy was killed in A. D. 1347. The King of Delhi, seems to have made no further attempts to recover his

provinces in the Deccan, and the whole of his possessions in that part of India fell into the hands of Zuffer Khan, who in the same year was crowned King under the title of Alla-ud-deen Hoosein Gungoo Bahmini. He selected the city of Gulburga, as his capital, on account of its central situation, and applied himself with great vigour and ability, to the consolidation of the power he had thus obtained.*

In A. D. 1357 the King was invited by an ancient Prince of Guzerat to occupy that province and advanced towards it with a large army, but falling sick, he had to abandon the expedition and to return to Gulburga. The kingdom was divided into Provinces. The northern was Berar, the eastern extended from Berar, Mahore, and Ramghur to Indore and Kowlas, on the south was the line of the Krishna and the Thungabhadra rivers and on the west he had his boundary in the sea. Dharwar belonged to the Hindu kingdom of Bijnagar. Over the area, included in the general boundaries given above, the Mahomedan government had been gradually established during the last half-a-century, of invasion and partial control. The King did not recover from his illness and died in A. D. 1358 and was succeeded by his son Mahomed. Although the Mahomedan power in the Deccan was now very considerable, it was however threatened by two great Hindu kingdoms, that of Warangal, now re-possessed by its original dynasty, on the east and south-east, and Bijnagar, a more modern State but more powerful than Warangal, on the south and south-west. Any display of weakness or want of resolution on the part of the Deccan Mahomedans would have produced very serious consequences. But Mahomed Shah, unlike is father, whose calm valour, and political dignity, had won for him the

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* It is recorded that he took into his service his old Brahmin master, Gungoo, and made him his chief treasurer. This was the first record of any high office, hitherto having been bestowed upon a Hindu by a Mahomedan monarch. Bahmini is a corruption of the Sanskrit term Brahmini, which means pertaining to a Brahmin.

kingdom, was a fierce and daring character, burning with great zeal and intolerant of all Hindus, and it was with the utmost impatience that he received the demands now made by Warangal and Bijanagar that he should restore portions of the territories of both States, which his father had conquered.' Here is a clear implication that Gungoo Hoosein had wars, during his lifetime, with both these Hindu States, and had perhaps annexed a few unimportant portions of their territories. The King was not, however, able, at once, to enter upon a campaign against either or both of these Hindu States. He kept their ambassadors at his Court under various pretexts and carefully watched his opportunity for action. On his brother's return from Mecca, Mohomed's demands on the Raja of Warangal, made that Raja to send his son Vinayaka Deva to recover Kowlas. But he was defeated, and the Mahomedans plundered the country up to Warangal. On payment of a war indemnity, the Mahomedans retired, and peace continued for some time between the two kingdoms. A party of merchants complained of Vinayaka Deva's exactions, and a war again broke out between Warangal and Bahmini. The King invaded Warangal, captured Vinayaka Deva and put him to death. The Hindus, however, so harassed him on his return passage, that he suffered great loss in men and baggage. He was, however, ultimately successful, and obtained cession of Golconda with its dependencies, together with valuable jewels and elephants from the Raja of Warangal. On his return to Gulburga, a great festival was held in celebration of his success, and a band of minstrels, having given him peculiar pleasure by their performance, he directed an order for their payment to be written on the treasury of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

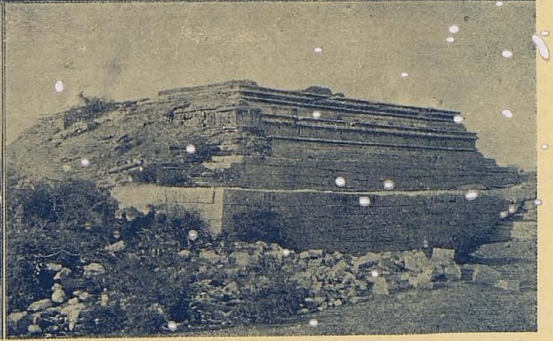
We shall now have to go back to the early Kings of Vijayanagar, and see what was their political position, with reference to the Princes of Bahmini, the resources they commanded, the extent of their territory and how this

order of the King of Bahmini was received by them, and what consequences followed from this "drunken draft" of Mohomed Shah of Bahmini on the treasury of Vijayanagar. From a careful perusal of all the documents before us, it seems to be a fact that the combination, which Krishna Naik had formed in A.D. 1344 of all the Hindu Princes of the South, including those of Vijayanagar, had been broken up after their first successful attempts to drive the Mahomedans out of the Deccan and they do not seem to have acted in coalition afterwards. Warangal was a powerful State, and Vijayanagar had already possessed extensive territories, and was in a flourishing condition. Its generals commanded the admiration of the Bahmini Sultans, by their bravery, military capacity and success, and it is a regrettable circumstance that they did not unite their forces with those of Warangal to oppose the Mahomedans, and threaten the very existence of their power. Mutual jealousies, quarrels over conquered provinces, and false fears, that when powerful, the one would destroy or absorb the other, seem to have acted with considerable weight in their counsels, and made them keep away from helping each other. If really these two States had heartily combined against the newly formed Bahmini kingdom, its history would have been, probably quite different. Even at a later stage, we see the two Princes of Warangal and Vijayanagar, sending ambassadors to Feroz Shah, Sultan of Delhi, to come to their help, to fight against the Deccan Mahomedans, but not making any combined effort on their own part to fight the Bahmini Sultans themselves. A real combination of these two, along with such martial Princes, as were willing to join them, would have compelled the Bahmini Sultan to give up many of the provinces, which he had conquered or annexed by force. History however will always be what it is, and not what we want it to be.

One of the Council Chambers in the Palace
at Vijayanagar.

Ruins of Chandrageri Palace.

Pavilion in the corner of the street in front
of the present Hampi Temple.



Maharnavami Dibba, or the Throne of Victory
on which the Emperors sat during
Vijaya Dasami parades and festivals.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY.

Harihara I

When clear documentary evidence is before us, it would be injudicious to venture into the field of guess-work. The inscription left by Vidyaranya plainly states that in S. 1258 Dhatu, or A.D. 1336 the city of Vidyanagar was founded by him in the already existing city of Vijayanagar. The use of the "Saptami Vibhakti" (locative case) entirely precludes the idea of Vijayanagar being called into existence then, or, as an archæologist says, "by a natural transition it passed ere long into Vijayanagar—city of victory, the Bijanagar of Mahomedan historians and the Bisangar of the French. It is also commonly known as Anagundi, properly the name of a village on the other side of the river, said to have been the capital of the Yavanas, regarding whom so little is known."*

* See p. 10, Ch. II.

Mr. Rice in his "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I., p. 344, apparently tries to make an ill-founded guess. He is strong in his "inscription-lore" and ought to have seen, that he had very little discretion allowed him to venture any guess when the language of the inscription is clear, and that, too, when it was written under the dictation of a great scholar of Vidyaranya's capacity. Mr. Rice, perhaps, did not read this important inscription, or could not grasp the force of the "Saptami Vibhakti" used in it. On p. 345 again, he falls into an error in the derivation of "Anagundi." This city was never called "Anagundi" or "Elephant pit" as he is pleased to say, in Kannada, but it was, and is still called "Ana Gondi" which clearly means in Kannada "Elephant lane or street" and never any pit. "Sandi Gondi," mean both in Kanada, and with a slight alteration "Sandu Gondu" in Telugu, streets and lanes, Gondi implying a sort of blind lane. If, as Mr. Rice conjectures, it was an "Elephant pit," then the Sanskritists were wrong in having translated it into Hastinapura, or Hastinavati. The idioms and delicacies of a language are always difficult to understand.

The "Raya Vamsavali" is clear on the point of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar by an early King called Vijaya-Dwaja; and, if we assume this as a fact, then alone, the Vidyaranya inscription becomes sufficiently intelligible. This fact appears to have escaped the notice of even a clever writer like Mr. Sewell. Nuniz makes a distinct mention of Deorao, having built the city, and called it "Vidyajana" in honor of the Brahmin hermit whom he met on the bank of the Thungabhadra, and with whose help he and his successors eventually became great Kings. The account given by Ferista, of the foundation of this city is given here for reference. Ferista says: "This year (A.D. 1344) Krishna Naik, the son of Ludder Deo, who lived near Warangal, went privately to Belal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him that he had heard the Mahomedans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindus, that it was therefore advisable to combine against them. Belal Deo convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved first to secure the forts of his own country, and to remove his seat of government amongst the mountains. Krishna Naik promised, on his part, also that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindus of Warangal and Talingana, and put himself at their head. Belal Deo, accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions and called it after his son, "Beeja" to which the word "Naggar" or city, was added; so that it is now known as Beejanaggar. He then raised an army and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naik, who reduced Warangal and compelled Imad-ul-Mulk, the Governor of the Deccan, to retreat to Dowlatabad. Belal Deo and Krishna Naik, united their forces with the troops of Mabir and Dwarasamudra, who were formerly tributaries to the Government of the Carnatic. The confederate Hindus seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans in the Deccan, and expelled

them, so that within a few months, Mohomed Toghlak had no possessions in this quarter except Dowlatabad."*

Many of the *sasanas* mention the name Vidyanagar and state that their Princes were ruling in peace and wisdom in that noble city. Harihara I., Harayappa, or Harayappa Odeyar seems to have been the first King of Vijayanagar, after its revival, and to have ruled ably his new kingdom, with the help of his Brahmin Minister and Guru, Madhava Vidyaranya. We have already seen, how the Deccan and South Indian dynasties of the Hindu Princes, were being shattered by their internal quarrels and mutual jealousies and also by the irresistible Mahomedan invasions from the North. We have further seen that the Mahomedans themselves were subjected to such rapid revolutionary movements in Northern India, that by the time the early Vijayanagar rulers appeared on the political horizon, the Emperors of Delhi had almost lost

* The year, as well as the details given by Ferista about the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar, considerably varies with those stated by the Vidyaranya inscription, as well as those given in the "Raya Vamsavali." Ludder Deo is Pratapa Rudra II. But who was this Belal Deo, who was ruling in the Carnatic, and who was his son Beeja or Vijaya? The derivation looks plausible enough if it had any foundation in truth. Mabir, perhaps, stands for Malabar. Ferista distinctly states that the Rajas of Malabar and Dwarasamudra were feudatories of the Carnatic. He thus introduces a new family into the Carnatic, about whom, as yet, we have had no references. It seems to be a fact that the Hindus placed themselves under the leadership direct or indirect of Krishna of Warangal, and succeeded in expelling the Mahomedans from the Deccan for some years. Writers on the history of Vijayanagar are perfectly silent on this significant point. Mr. Sewell makes no attempt whatever about the existence of any city on the southern bank of the river before A.D. 1336. Was Vijayanagar in existence when Vidyanagar was revived? or was it built and christened as Vidyanagar? or as both Vijayanagar and Vidyanagar? These important details have not been explained. When facts are simple, there is no need to raise unnecessary doubts, and waste our energies on their solution. Vijayanagar, from the references already made, appears to have been in existence (perhaps much shattered by the anarchy which prevailed for a short period after the destruction of the Anagondi rulers) whoever may have founded it, and to have risen to great eminence before it was revived by the new dynasty of Sangama, under their benefactor and Guru Vidyaranya.

their hold on the Deccan, that they had sufficient work to attend to in their own territories, and that, for about two centuries afterwards, they forsook all pretensions to power and political influence in the Deccan and Southern India. A new Mahomedan power arose in the Deccan under the name of the Gungoo Bahmini dynasty, and in the course of a century, it split itself into four or five Mahomedan States, with all of which, the Princes of Vijayanagar had political relations, and with all of whom they had to maintain constant wars for the acquisition of disputed territories or for their protection. An attempt must be made to explain, in the light of existing inscriptions, the extent and resources of the first ruler of Vijayanagar, who founded the city in A.D. 1336; the territories which were subjected to his sway, the Princes who ruled under him as feudatories, or governors, and the wars in which he was involved in the defence of his newly established dynasty. This seems to be a difficult task, inasmuch as the information bearing on these points is meagre and unsatisfactory. Whatever may be the version which we believe with reference to the foundation of the capital, it appears plain, that Anagondi or Vijayanagar, was already the leading city of a flourishing and extensive country, over which, for many centuries previously, powerful chieftains held their sway, and collected vast quantities of treasure, and had the same concealed in some recesses, among the mountain caves which were inaccessible and which were, perhaps, known only to the ruling Kings. They had large and powerful armies, they commanded vast resources, they had many impregnable fortresses, and they were important enough to give protection, to such a high royal personage, as the Mussalman Viceroy of the Deccan, and to have defeated the Sultan of Delhi, in various encounters and routed his armies. The anarchy, after their destruction, appears to have been of short duration, and the Kings of the new dynasty, who sat upon

the throne of Vijayanagar, seem to have been recognised at an early date by the country, as its legitimate rulers. The fugitive Princes of the Deccan and Southern India appear to have readily placed themselves under the protection and guidance of the Kings of the new dynasty, when they found them strong enough to defend their ancient religion, and to lead them against their natural enemies, the Mahomedans, with courage and tact. The scions of the disorganised Hindu royal families seem to have been only waiting for the appearance of some brave leaders, who would give them scope for distinguishing themselves in the defence of their country and religion, and with such military organization, as would enable them, to cope with the Mahomedan incursions with some chances of victory and conquest. The early rulers of Vijayanagar, appear to have supplied readily these wants, so lamentably felt in the thoroughly shattered political fabric of the ancient Hindu dynasties, and to have succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in forming themselves into a strong bulwark against the Mahomedan invasions, and in the establishment of an empire, under whose sway, not only the whole of Southern India was brought, but also parts of the Deccan, and the whole of the east coast of India, from Cape Camorin to the confines of the Bengal Presidency.

In spite of the short anarchy, which prevailed before the establishment of the Sangama dynasty, the kingdom of Vijayanagar appears to have been well populated, and extensively cultivated. Portions of Warangal, Devagiri, Dwarasamudra, and Konkan, with some provinces in the South, seem to have been readily assimilated in the newly established kingdom of Vidyanagar, and its first rulers appear to have introduced salutary measures, for consolidating their power, for strengthening their frontier garrisons and defences, and for devising means to afford

the people sufficient protection from all foreign or internal disturbances, in the pursuit of their daily avocations.

Harihara I. was very fortunate in possessing warlike and faithful brothers, whom he seems to have appointed to responsible offices, under the State, with a view to strengthen considerably his own position and to give them that practical experience, on the nature of which, the welfare of the kingdom, largely depended. Bukka, who afterwards succeeded Harihara on the throne, and became so famous in the history of Vijayanagar, was made Yuva Raja, and entrusted with important military commands. Kampa was entrusted with the work of conquest and settlement in the Cuddapah and Nellore districts, and he appears to have been eminently successful there. Marappa seems to have conquered the Kadamba territories and ruled at Chandra Gutti, in the west of Mysore. What became of Mudappa, it is not clearly known. A beautiful *sasana* in Sringeri, dated S. 1268, Parthiva, on the first day after the full moon, in the month of Phalguna or A.D. 1346, makes a grant of nine villages to Bharati Thirtha Sri Pada, his disciples and 40 Brahmins, during the reign of Harihara I., when he was ruling with his brothers Kampana Odeyar, Bukkana Odeyar, Mara Odeyar, Muda Odeyar, son-in-law Ballappa Dannayaka, and Kumara Sommana Odeyar, in commemoration of his victories over countries extending from the western to the eastern oceans. Ferista's account of Krishna Naik of Warangal, going to the Carnatic Prince, forming a strong Hindu confederacy, and driving out the Mussalmans from the Deccan, seems to receive ample confirmation from this *sasana*. At the time of this grant, Harihara appears to have had a son called Sommana Odeyar, who must have died, apparently, during his father's lifetime, for we hear no more of him afterwards.*

Kumara in Sanskrit, means a son, and when used in the royal families, it usually signifies the son of the ruling Prince.

From this *sasana*, it also appears that Ballappa Daunayaka (Danda Naika, commander of an army), was the son-in-law of Harihara I. or one of his brothers, for he is called in Kannada "Aliya," which means properly a son-in-law, but it is often used also to denote a sister's son or nephew. He seems to have held some high military rank under the Vijayanagar King—probably, the commander-in-chief of the army. Another important fact which receives some confirmation from this *sasana*, is the correctness of the dates of the succession of the "gurus" to the pontifical throne at Sringeri. The city revived in Vijayanagar, was named Vidyanagar, in honor of the sage Vidyaranya. Therefore he must have ascended the pontifical throne before the year A.D. 1336. The dates of succession of the priests in Sringeri, as given by the Sringeri *Matt* records, are fairly borne out by the various inscriptions which have been discovered and interpreted.*

* Vidyaranya had two brothers, Sayana and Bhoganatha. The last became a sanyasi in S. 1250 or A.D. 1328 and received his spiritual instructions from Vidyathirtha, to whose memory, the gift in the *sasana* seems to have been made. A tradition says that three years later, Madhava (afterwards Vidyaranya) went to Sringeri, and challenged the guru, saying that his brother's assumption of the sanyasi state, was brought about without a fair knowledge of the Vedas and a conviction of the excellence of the assumption of pure asceticism. In the night Madhava had a dream, in which he was advised by his family deity, to forsake his pride, fall on the feet of Vidyathirtha, and embrace asceticism as his brother had wisely done before. He did, as he was advised to do in the dream by his diety, and became a sanyasi the very next day. Thus Vidyathirtha had two disciples for the pontifical throne at Sringeri. This was in A.D. 1331. Vidyathirtha obtained his "siddhi" in A.D. 1333 and Vidyaranya probably left Sringeri for Vijayanagar and lived there till A.D. 1386. His brother Bhoganatha (afterwards called Bharati Thirtha) obtained his "siddhi" in A.D. 1380 and seems to have been at Sringeri, worshipping the goddess Saraswathi and taking care of his pontifical duties, while his more famous brother Vidyaranya acted the parts of both a guru and a minister to the rising Kings of the new dynasty, established by him on the throne of Vijayanagar. Santaliginad, in which the villages granted are said to have been situated, must have been brought under the complete sway of Harihara, before this period, for otherwise, no grants of disputed or unsubdued lands could be gifted away. I have seen the original inscription in Kannada.

The religious establishment at Sringeri was very closely connected with the foundation of the great Vijayanagar empire, and its phenomenal growth in the commencement was entirely due to the great ability, influence, position and pecuniary help which Vidyaranya lent to its early Princes. During the long ministry of Vidyaranya, three sovereigns of the Sangama dynasty reigned, *viz*:—Harihari I., Bukka I., and Harihara II., and Vidyaranya had the satisfaction of witnessing with honest pride, the grand growth of an humble kingdom, which he established on the banks of the Thungabhadra, and which, during the life of this sage, had extended itself into a mighty empire, comprising all Southern India, portions of the Deccan, and the greater part of the East Coast. An inscription dated A.D. 1346 (Hunsur) states that a "Virakal" was set up in honor of certain "gowdas" of "Chapradahalli" who died fighting in the service of their King Hariappa Odeyar. Another important inscription dated S. 1258 (A.D. 1336) testifies to the grant of a village named Kapalam, otherwise called Hariharapuram in free gift to a Brahmin, named Kesavabhatta.*

* This inscription consists of three copper plates, originally joined by a seal, bearing the figure of "Vamana." Near Sringeri, in Mysore, there is a place called Hariharapuram, probably, it was called also Kapalam before Harihara improved it. Harihara I. built an agraharam and called it Hariharapuram or the town of Harihara. This *sasana* is most important as confirming the fact of Harihara ruling in A.D. 1336 in Vijayanagar. It would be extremely difficult to believe that he could have built Vijayanagar in such a short time, consolidated his authority sufficiently and extended his conquests so as to be in a position to make free gifts of distant lands in foreign territories in the same year in which he founded a new city and dynasty. The other theory receives much support, which says that there was a kingdom in the Carnatic, of which Vijayanagar was the capital, that after its rulers died, there was a short lived anarchy, that Vidyaranya returned quickly from Sringeri on hearing of this interregnum and established a new dynasty and revived the city in grander proportions and called it after his own honored name. The sudden growth of the dynasty, if only established in A.D. 1336, to a power which could dispute the empire of the South of India, with the Mahomedans, after the death of Mohomed Toglak, is hardly conceivable. But at the same time, it must be

An inscription (Tirthahalli) dated S. 1269 (Vijaya) A.D. 1347, declares that during the increase of the victorious reign of Mahamandaleswara Vira Hariappa Odeyar, a Minister apparently called Virakaya made a grant of land.

An inscription dated A.D. 1343 (Swabhanu) states that Bhayanna, descended from the Soma Vamsa (Lunar race) a worshipper at the feet of Maharajadhi Raja Raja Paramaswara, Harihara Maharaya (when he was ruling) built a tank and agraharam near Hiri Gandasi, Mysore, named Mangapura, in honour of his mother (for her spiritual benefit), and gave it to the Brahmins. Here it is noted, that the humbler titles of Odeyar and Mahamandaleswara, had been dropped, and grander ones assumed by Harihara, within the short period of seven years after the commencement of his rule in Vijayanagar. Bhayanna, probably was a distant relation of Harihara, being a descendant of the Chundra Vamsa Princes. It further establishes the fact that the conquests of Harihara I. had extended rapidly over these parts of Mysore, and he seems to have been recognised as their paramount sovereign.*

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considered, that under the rapid effects of Indian revolutions, much might have been accomplished by active and spirited Princes in 20 or even 10 years, in the national consolidation of the Hindu power of the South, which had become so seriously threatened.

The extent and consolidation of this dominion, may favour the hypothesis, that the Bijanagar State could not have attained its dimensions in the short period between A.D. 1336 and A.D. 1347 and that it must have grown out of the ruins of the former dynasties.

* There are two villages near Arsikere called Hirigandasi and Chickkagandasi, and this inscription was discovered in the former, where the agraharam was supposed to have been built with the tank. I have read the original inscription and am inclined to read the name as Chayanna, instead of Bhayanna. The difference between "Cha" and "Bha" in Kannada is so small, that in worn out characters, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. If, however, it is read as Bhayanna, as Mr. Rice seems to have done, the name is quite unfamiliar in the Carnatic. Names with the simple "Ba" are common, but commencing with "Bha" are rare.

Harihara seems to have defeated the Sultan (Delhi) with the help of the Hindu confederate Princes, as we see there are some references to it, in Ferista. In this success against the Mahomedans, Harihara I. appears to have gained very large portions of the territories, formerly subjected to Warangal, Devagiri, Hoysala Ballalas, and other Hindu Princes in the South. An inscription dated "Chitra Bhanu"—the Saka year not given—recognises the authority of Harihara, over the Nagar Khanda, and states that a Jain priest called "Chandra Prabha" died in Kuppatur, a lovely place in that picturesque country, in which the renowned Maurya King Chandragupta, was alleged to have spent some of his later days in the contemplation of the Buddhistic philosophy.*

* The Hindu cyclic year "Chitrabhanu" corresponds with A.D. 1342 or A.D 1402. It is a curious concidence to note, that Harihara I. ruled in A.D. 1342 and Harihara II. ruled in A.D. 1402. Naga Khanda or Nagar Khanda represents the north-west portion of the present Province of Mysore, where, after the fall of Vijayanagar power, the Ikkeri or Bednur Chiefs ruled successfully for a time. Kuppatur seems to have been a place of great antiquity; and it was originally called Kuntalanagara, the famous capital of Chandrahasa, whose romantic story forms an interesting episode in the Mahabharata. This is so very interesting that I am tempted to give here a short summary of it. Chandrahasa was the son of a Kerala King, and he had six toes. While young, his father died in a battle and his mother burned herself with the King. His nurse fled with him to Kuntala and she died, leaving him to subsist on begging. While he went to beg in the Minister's house, some astrologers, noted signs of royalty in him, and declared that he would become King of the country some day. The Minister "Dusta Buddhi" (evil-minded) took measures to have him murdered, but the assassins relented at the moment, cut off Chandrahasa's sixth toe and produced it before the Minister. Kulinda, an officer of the Court, while hunting, heard Chandrahasa's cry and pleased with his noble mien, he took and protected him. Chandrahasa became very useful and subdued rebellious chiefs and obtained wealth for his protector. This roused the Minister's jealously. He resolved to put him to death and invited him to take an urgent message to his son Madana. Chandrahasa took the letter, and having approached the city, fell into deep sleep by fatigue in the Minister's pleasure garden. The daughter of the Minister by name "Vishaya" who was in this garden at the time, saw the beautiful youth, and immediately fell in love with him. Having observed a letter in the youth's bosom in her father's handwriting, she took it and read it. Her father had asked her brother to give the youth at once "Vishava"

According to the inscriptions, which have been carefully examined, the reign of Harihara I. may be extended from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1350. Here we are met with a difficulty which requires some discussion. Nuniz distinctly says that Deorao, the first King of Vijayanagar, was an old man and that he ruled only for seven years. If his statements could be believed, Harihara I. must have died in or about A.D. 1343. Mr. Sewell's remarks in this connection are interesting, but his logic, at any rate to me, seems to be quite unintelligible. Mr. Sewell observes:— "He reigned according to our Chronicles seven years—and did nothing therein, but pacify the kingdom which he left in complete tranquility. His death, if this be so, would have taken place about the year A.D. 1343. Nuniz relates that he founded a temple in honor of the Brahmin hermit, his protector. This was the great temple at Hampi, close to the river, which is still in full preservation, and is the only one among the massive shrines erected at the capital, in which worship is still carried on; the others were remorselessly wrecked and destroyed by the Mahomedans in A.D. 1565. As already stated, the traveller Ibu Batuta refers to this King under the name of 'Haraib' or 'Harib' in or about the year A.D. 1342. If the traditions collated by Nuniz, according to which Harihara I. lived at peace during the seven years of his reign be true, his

(poison) and she cleverly changed that into her own name "Vishaya" and putting the letter in the same place, she went away. The youth woke up, went to Madana and was married at once to the beautiful daughter of the Minister, as the Minister's orders were urgent and brooked no delay. In another attempt, the Minister made to have Chandrahasa murdered, his son Madana was killed by a singular mistake. Chandrahasa attracted the attention of the Kuntala King, and was married to the Princess, thus inheriting the kingdom from his father-in-law as the King had no sons. This story is related at length in the beautiful Kannada poem named Jaimini Bharata.

As the mention of Harihara is made in the inscription, and as the periods may be ascribed to two Kings of that name, it is really difficult to say to whom it properly refers. But as the name "Harihara" is not compounded with imperial titles, it may be ascribed to Harihara I.

death must have occurred before A.D. 1344, because in that year, as we learn from other sources, Krishna, son of Pratapa Rudra of Warangal, took refuge at Vijayanagar and in concert with its King, and with the surviving Ballala Princes of Dwarasamudra, drove back the Mahomedans, rescued for a time part of the Southern Deccan country, and prepared the way for the overthrow of the sovereignty of Delhi, south of the Vindhyas. I take it, therefore that Harihara died in or about the year A.D. 1343." The inference drawn in the last sentence, is curious and unaccountable. If Krishna Naik came to take refuge in Vijayanagar, sought the help of its King, joined in a confederacy with the surviving Princes of the Ballala line, and drove the Mahomedans out of the Southern Deccan for a time, I really fail to understand why "Harihara should have died in or about the year A.D. 1343." There is nothing to prevent us from conceiving that Krishna Naik came to Harihara, and with his help, succeeded in driving the Mahomedans out of the Deccan. Krishna Naik's arrival was certainly no signal for Harihara's death, and there is no record whatever before us, to show that Krishna Naik went to any other King.*

From all these records, it appears that Harihara ascended the throne in A.D. 1336 by the help of his Brahmin preceptor, Vidyaranya, and strengthened his position on the throne by entrusting important military expeditions to his warlike brothers. After securing his newly obtained territories, he seems to have entered into

* Mr. Sewell, in his "S. I. Antiquities," Vol. II., page 343, says that Harihara I. ruled from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1350 and bases this inference on his study of Dr. Burnell and Mysore inscriptions. But in his "Forgotten Empire" he apparently makes no attempt to justify his inferences to the effect that Harihara I. died in A.D. 1343. Mr. L. Rice, in his "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I., page 346, states that the dates given by him for the Vijayanagar Kings were "based upon the evidence of inscriptions, but some dates may require slight readjustment when our information is complete." He gives Harihara I. A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1350.

a strong confederacy with Krishna Naik of Warangal and other South Indian Princes and not only succeeded in defeating the forces of the Sultan of Delhi, but also succeeded in expelling the Mahomedans from the whole of the Southern Deccan in A.D. 1344. He appears to have ruled for about six years after this important event, and he must have employed these last years of his reign for the consolidation of his power. He died probably in A.D. 1350 leaving to his famous brother Bukka I. an extensive territory, a good army, and an able Brahmin Minister. We have very scanty information about the character of this great monarch, who, in the course of only 14 years of his reign, extended his conquests far and wide, introduced organisation into the working of the state departments, and raised the power of Vijayanagar, as a great bulwark which was destined to oppose the Mahomedans for more than two centuries. When Harihara was selected to the throne of Vijayanagar, by Vidyaranya, we have every reason to credit the King with the possession of manly virtues and kingly dignity. His successful administration for 14 years safely enables us to say, at this distance of time, that although he was not perhaps as warlike and brave as his famous younger brother Bukka, he was not wanting in courage and tact, in the administration of his newly acquired territories. He seems to have been a deep and far-sighted statesman, and succeeded in establishing order and harmony out of chaos.*

A Jaina *sasana* dated S. 1276 (Vijaya) or A.D. 1354 from Soraba, distinctly says that in that year when Mahamandalaswara Hariappa Odeyar was ruling the kingdom, Malagowda died and his wife Chennakka went to Swurga (heaven) by her sahagamana (sati). I have seen the original and it looks perfectly genuine. The cyclic year Vijaya tallies with S. 1276 or A.D. 1354. If other *sasanas* are forthcoming to support this fact, then the previously stated period of A.D. 1350 as the probable date of the death of Harihara I. must be changed and all the archæological writers, will have to start, with new dates, and particulars about King Harihara I.

Mr. Rice apparently did not notice this *sasana* and its importance as bearing the latest date, for the reign of Harihara I. Another important

CHAPTER X.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Bukka I.

After the death of Harihara I., who seems to have left no issues, it would naturally be expected that "Kampa" the second son of Sangama, should have succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar. The numerous inscriptions, discovered all over the South Indian Peninsula, are agreed in saying that Kampa was the second, and Bukka the third, of the five brothers, sons of Sangama. A copper-plate grant, dated A.D. 1356, according to the reading of Mr. Sewell, states that Kampa succeeded Harihara I. and that Sangama, succeeded his father Kampa. It further mentions that Sangama made a grant of the village of Bitragunta to a Brahmin, a year after his accession to the throne. "According to this," says Mr. Sewell, "it would appear that Bukka I., who undoubtedly was a man of war, usurped the throne. It asserts that the father of Harihara I., who was named Sangama, had five sons. The eldest was Harihara himself, the second Kampa and the third Bukka." Then Mr. Sewell

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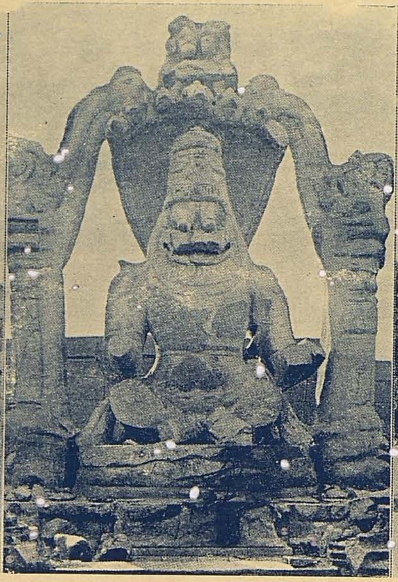
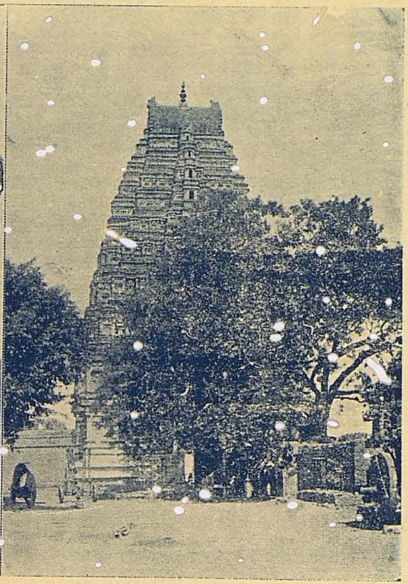
inscription comes also from Soraba, and adds much value to that already quoted. It is simply dated Vijaya and states that when Vira Hariappa Odeyar was ruling in peace, Kamagowda of Avali obtained swurga. The first is dated the third lunar day of the dark half of Pushya on a Sunday in S. 1276 (Vijaya), and the last is dated, on the Poornama of Pushya, Friday, in the year Vijaya. In both these, Suddha and Bahula are written fully. This tallies admirably, as in the decreasing of the lunar days, when Full moon becomes a Friday the Trithiyya next to it (Bahula) will generally fall on a Sunday. As Hariappa Odeyar is mentioned, there is no doubt that he was ruling in A.D. 1354 also. And as the Saka year is not given but the name Hariappa Odeyar occurs, it may also refer to Harihara II., in which case the year would be A.D. 1414. But as yet no *sasana* has been discovered which goes beyond A.D. 1406 for Harihara II. Besides he is generally called Maharaya, and is usually mentioned as the son of Bukka Raya, probably with a view to distinguish him from Harihara I.

Fort Gate leading to Anagondi.



Colossal Statue of Ugra Narasimha at Vijayanagar.



The famous Hampi Temple of Vijayanagar.

having succeeded in creating a difficulty for himself, by the statement that Bukka usurped the throne, wants to know "who succeeded Harihara. There is extant an inscription of Bukka dated in A.D. 1354 and there is this Nellore inscription dated in A.D. 1356. The latter comes from a far off country near the eastern coast, and it relates that Kampa succeeded Harihara and that Sangama II., son of Kampa, succeeded his father, and granted a village in the Nellore district to the Brahmins, on a date which corresponds to 3rd May A.D. 1356. It implies that Sangama had succeeded his father Kampa exactly a year previous to the grant. Thus it claims that Kampa was King from A.D. 1343 to A.D. 1355. We know nothing more of this, and there is only one other document at present known to exist which was executed in the reign either of Kampa or of Sangama." From these premises, Mr. Sewell goes on to say "that the only possible inference is that the succession to Harihara was disputed, and that somehow Bukka got the upper hand, as early as A.D. 1354, declared himself King, afterwards claiming to have immediately succeeded Harihara." A short argument here seems to be necessary to understand this important point of succession to the newly established throne of Vijayangar, and the reasoning on which, Mr. Sewell has apparently tried to base his conclusions. On page 26 of his "Forgotten Empire." Mr. Sewell says "I take it, therefore, that Harihara died in or about the year A.D. 1343." The Sringeri inscription, noted for its clearness, good preservation and the details it mentions, dated A.D., 1346, in which Harihara makes a grant of nine villages to his Guru, his disciples and Brahmins, seems to deal a death-blow to his inference. In the "Raya Vamsavali" there is no mention of the succession of Kampa or his son Sangama. This is a document which is very carefully preserved by the members of the royal family of Vijayanagar and it certainly deserves some consideration at the hands of its historians.

In A.D. 1345 we find a "Virakal" set up in memory of some gowdas who died fighting for their ruling sovereign Hariappa Odeyar. In a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1378 (Channarayapatna), there is a distinct statement that Bukka was appointed as "Yuva Raja" or heir-apparent to Harihara I. and that he was the most famous among his brothers and succeeded his brother Hariappa Odeyar. In Penukonda, an inscription dated A.D. 1354 commemorates the construction of the fort by the Minister of Virupanna Odeyar, son of Janema Devi, to whom Penukonda had been given by Vira Bukka Raya of Vijayanagar. Another inscription, close to this, on the fort wall, dated A.D. 1364, mentions Viruppana Odeyar doing similar repairs to the fort under the same sovereign. The grant referred to by Mr. Sewell, dated A.D. 1356 gives simply the genealogy of Sangama II., and does not mention that either his father Kampa or himself ever succeeded Harihara I. on the throne of Vijayanagar. Kampa was entrusted with the work of conquest in and round Cuddapah and Nellore districts by Harihara I., and he seems to have been eminently successful in those tracts. He was a sort of Viceroy or General under his brother Harihara and was succeeded in this office by his son Sangama. The wise Brahmin Minister, with a view to strengthen the position of the newly established empire, delegated the services of his famous brother Sayana to Sangama, while he himself acted the part of the chief Minister in Vijayanagar. Under his careful guidance and instructions, it looks unreasonable to suppose that there could have been any political disturbances among the brothers themselves, about the succession to the throne of Vijayanagar. Bukka's Yuva Rajaship was early recognised, and he seems to have been entrusted with the principal command of the army. All the inscriptions agree in stating that the five brothers were like the "Pancha Pandavas," amiable, loving, and warlike, that Bukka the third brother,

was the most famous of the lot, as Arjuna, the third brother of the Pandava Princes, was the bravest and most renowned warrior among them. Signs of weakness or division among these five brothers meant certain destruction and ruin to their rising power. It must also be remembered that in A.D. 1347 Hoosein Gungoo Bahmini was crowned King of Gulburga. He was a powerful warrior and a keen-sighted statesman. He was their next door neighbour, and any rumours of civil war, or misunderstanding among the Vijayanagar Princes, at this early stage of their political existence, would have been taken advantage of by him, and he would have, not only wrested very large provinces from them, but also would have captured Vijayanagar itself, and would have dealt such a death-blow to the rising power of the Sangama dynasty, as would have crushed their ambitious schemes, for, at least, a long time to come. It was a master stroke of policy on the part of Vidyaranya, to have secured the co-operation of all the brothers, in strengthening the defences of the newly formed empire and in putting large provinces under the command of Princes, who were faithful to each other, and who recognised the able guidance of their spiritual and temporal Guru, and who readily followed his unerring projects, for the consolidation of the central royal power, whose strength meant their own safety and whose weakness was to be their utter destruction. Vidyaranya himself was equally politic and judicious in the disposal of his own illustrious brothers and the work allotted to them.

One of his brothers, Bhoganatha, sat on the pontifical throne at Sringeri and as Jagadguru, commanded great spiritual influence over the Hindu Princes and populations. His other brother, Sayana, acted the part of a Minister to Sangama II., who succeeded his father Kampa and who obviously was entrusted with the charge of all the eastern territories of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Vidyaranya was

himself a gigantic intellect. He seems to have wielded his spiritual and temporal powers from the capital of the newly founded kingdom, with a rare tact and foresight which would have done credit to the greatest statesmen and emperors of the world. In the face of such convincing evidence, it is really difficult to understand what Mr. Sewell means, when he says "that Bukka somehow got the upper hand as early as A.D. 1354, declared himself King, afterwards claiming to have immediately succeeded Harihara." What special purpose could Bukka gain by claiming to have immediately succeeded Harihara, Mr. Sewell has not been pleased to explain. He quotes no authorities for his inferences, and the inscriptions discovered up-to-date do not in the least support his views. We can hardly believe that Bukka had any fear of break in his service, and the consequent result of obtaining suitable pension, at the termination of his rule. There is a long interval of 11 years between the supposed death of Harihara I. in A.D. 1343, and Bukka "somehow getting the upper hand in A.D. 1354," and Mr. Sewell would have been more consistent in his logic had he at least attempted to explain what Bukka was doing all this time, and under whom he was serving? Bukka was appointed early as Yuva Raja and became the real Raja soon after his eldest brother Harihara died. If Kampa or his son Sangama ruled as Princes in Vijayanagar, during a period of 11 or 12 years, they would certainly have left many more *sasanas*, and their names would have also been more famous. All the *sasanas* referring to Vijayanagar, are one in saying that Bukka succeeded Harihara and his son Harihara II. succeeded him. Unnecessary inferences, somehow cause in the brain great confusion and therefore they may be suppressed altogether. So far as can be ascertained, there are no inscriptions either of Kampa or Sangama making any grants in or round about Vijayanagar, or even at long distances from it, and if

Sangama II. gave a grant in Bitragunta—Nellore District—it simply confirms the reasonable view of his holding a provincial government, and making grants on his own account, as did other Princes of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the various Provinces, which they governed as Governors or Viceroys; subject to the central authority of the King at Vijayanagar.* The genealogy of Sangama, was necessarily the genealogy of the ruling monarch, and the latter was his own paternal uncle. We also see from other inscriptions, that Bhaskara, Virupana, Thippa Raja, Chick Raja and Harihara, sons of Bukka, held, not only provincial governments, but also made grants in their own names, and gave genealogies similar to that of the ruling sovereign. They even assume in some of these grants, all imperial titles, and there is nothing remarkable here to call for any special remarks as they were the sons or nephews of the ruling monarchs and therefore had special privileges which others of an inferior rank could not assume.

A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1354 at Morsallapalle, records a gift by Vira Bukkaraya. There is an inscription dated Saka 1202 or A. D. 1280 Mudagiri, which records "that Bukkana Odeyar'ssenior, Thuppada Nagana Odeyar and Thippana Odeyar were unwilling to give up 'Sosavur' situated in the Kali Nadiyamanad Four Thousand."†

* Mr. R. Morris, Collector of Nellore, to whom my thanks are due, kindly sent me a copy of this copper-plate grant. Some of the letters are worn out, but I read the whole in the original. There is nothing in this document to justify Mr. Sewell's guess. It supports my view.

† Mr. Rice dates this inscription in his English translation as A.D. 1359. (*See* E. C., Vol. VI., p. 65, Mudagiri, 25). I have read the original and it clearly gives the date Saka 1202 (Virodhikrutu Kartika) or A.D. 1280. But in the transliteration of the same Mr. Rice has the goodness to give Saka Varsha 1282 (A.D. 1360) and Vikarisomvatsara. Further on, he has the passage as "Bhasaya Thappuvarayaragunda Hindu Raya Sukatana, whereas in the original it is given as Cholaraya Sukatana." It is a wonder to me how a gentleman of Mr. Rice's experience could have his transliteration different from the original and his translation different from his transliteration. (*See* pp. 149, 63, and 250 of the above Vol.). He changes his cyclic years from Virodhikritu to Vikari in the transliteration, an interval

An inscription dated A. D. 1369 records that Bukka Bhupathy's son Bhaskara Bhupathi, who reigned at Udayagiri, constructed a tank at Pourumamilla.

An inscription dated A. D. 1367 on the bund of the tank at Chilumaturu makes mention that, in that year, Bukka Raya of Vijayanagar was ruling the kingdom in peace. An important inscription dated S. 1277 (Manmatha) A.D. 1355 states that when the master of the eastern and western oceans, Vira Bukka Raya Odeyar, was ruling in peace and wisdom, in Hosapatna, in the Hoysana country, the royal city of Nijagali Kataka Raya, Mallinatha, son of Aliya Saya, was ruling in Bammattana Kallu (Chitaldroog) in peace and wisdom, and on the date specified above, he raised an upper storey of stone for the god Siddhanatha; fixed on it that god's pinnacle, and set up a stone swing. Mallinatha Odeyar, appears as giving a pura (town) to Dasideva Odeyar at Bammattana Kallu in A. D. 1345. Mallinatha seems to have been a General of great ability and courage, who had acquired fame, "on the Turuku army, the Sevanu army, the Telungu army, the Pandya's immense army, and the Hoysana army." Even the Suratala King (Bahmini Sultan) honored him as a brave warrior of the foreign army. He was probably the Governor or Viceroy in the territories bordering on the north-west of Mysore, and was the son of Aliya Saya. "Aliya" in Kannada, means son-in-law

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of 12 years from the latter year to the former and 48 years from the former to the latter. The cyclic year Vikari agrees with Saka 1282. As some elder Odeyars are mentioned in it, it is possible to conjecture that in A.D. 1280 a feudatory Prince, named Bukka, with his brothers, might have been ruling in a province under the Hoysala suzerainty. His son may have been Kampa, whose son was Sangama, whose sons were Hariappa Kampa, Bukka, Marapa and Muddapa. We have yet to know in detail their early history. Continuing his remarks, Mr. Rice says however "that it is a pity, the passage cannot be fully made out, as there is reason to suppose that the founders of the Vijayanagar dynasty, may have been chiefs under the Hoysalas. Bukka's son Virupanna was ruler of Kolasa and Araga." But where the mistakes occur, the passages are clean and legible.

and perhaps he was the son-in-law of one of the Vijayanagar Princes. Thus it will be seen that even, as early as A.D. 1345, Mallinatha distinguished himself as a General and had to fight hard battles for his sovereigns who sat on the throne of Vijayanagar. From this and other inscriptions, it appears clear that the early Vijayanagar rulers had able Generals like Mallinatha, Ballappa, Bacha Raja, Basavayya Dandanaika, and others, and all of these seem to have been entrusted with provincial governments, with probably, civil and military powers combined, subject to the general control of the central Vijayanagar dynasty. Most of these seem to have been closely related to the ruling sovereigns of Vijayanagar.

In some places these Generals are also called Ministers, and it is now really difficult to define exactly the powers which they wielded as Provincial Governors, and military commanders. It seems anyhow very clear, that their powers for internal administration were almost unbounded, and that they appear to have exercised them, in many instances, to extend and strengthen their positions, and even to make grants of villages and lands without any reference to the sovereign who sat, for the time being, on the throne of Vijayanagar. Bukka seems to have been the most famous General of his age, and his prowess has been admitted as very great in all the *sasanas* which have been examined. As Mr. Sewell correctly observes, of the lot "Bukka seems to have been a man of war and courage." It is difficult to identify Hosapatna, which was the royal city of "Nijagali Kataka Raya"*

* Inscriptions discovered in Southern India, have not yet disclosed any facts which would throw light upon this "Nijagali Kataka Raya" or his royal city. There is an elevated hill called Nijagal Betta, with ruins of fortifications, about 33 miles to the north-west of Bangalore. It seems to have also been called Suragiri. The fort on the summit and the sides of the hill owes its strength to the natural position of the rocky hill and it seems to have been the scene of many "desperate encounters." If it deserved the name of a "royal city," it must certainly have been of great

Another inscription dated A.D. 1358 (Malavalle) records, that during the reign of Bukka Raya Maha Raya, Bachappa or Bacha Raja, son of Kirthi Raja, made sluices to the tanks he had already constructed before. He seems to have been a great Minister as well as a General under Bukka and Harihara. This General, after meritorious services, seems to have died with his wife on the banks of the Thungabhadra, and an inscription dated A.D. 1382 during the reign of Harihara II. records that Bacha Raja died in peace after constructing the tanks of Bukkarayasamudra, Kirtisamudra, the Mallavve tank, the Nagavve tank, Bachappa tank, and Chaudappa channel. He also seems to have raised extensive areca plantations called Bachana and Kampana gardens and to have set up

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extent and magnificence. Whether Nijagal is the place referred to in the *sasana*, it is difficult to venture an opinion.

The river Hemavati in the Mysore District forms an island near Akkihebbal channel, and it is called Hosapatna, which contains an old deserted fort. The remarks of Mr. Rice on Hosapatna seem to be off the track. He observes on p. 24 of E. C., Vol. XI., that "there is no certainty as to this place. Sir Walter Elliot says that the first name of Vijayanagar was Hosapatna, which is quite possible, as the word merely means "new town." But that would not be according to Mr. Rice, "in the Hoysana country. Some other place must therefore be meant. Hosapatna is also mentioned in the inscription (SK. 136) recording the reconciliation of the Jainas and Vaishnavas by Bukka Raya." What Mr. Rice means by SK. 136 I do not know. SK. probably means Shikarpur—for which he has used this abbreviation—but 136 of that place refers to A. D. 1068 and to Chalukyan Princes. Elliot's conjecture may be true, as still we have a Hospet near the ruins of Vijayanagar. A reference made to the extent of the territories ruled by the Hoysalas will enable the readers to see plainly that Vijayanagar or the surrounding country was really in their kingdom. Mr. Rice himself says "Vira Ballala gained important victories to the north . . . . . and carried the Hoysala kingdom up to and beyond the Peddore or Kristna, establishing his residence at Lakkundi, in Dharwar. He also defeated Jaitugi, son of the Yadava King, at Lakkundi, and thus acquired the sovereignty of Kuntala. He moreover gained a great victory at Soratur over Sevunau, the General of Jaitugi, and pursuing him to the banks of the Krishna, there slew him. He further reduced all the hill forts about the Thungabhadra." When the Hoysala kingdom was so extensive, Vijayanagar and even territories north of it for a long distance, were under their sway, and may, without any objection, be said to be, in their kingdom.

the god Mallikarjuna. An important document from Shikarpur, dated A.D. 1368, declares that during the reign of Bukka Raya, his great Minister, Madhava, established an agrahara and gave it to Cashmere Brahmins. The details given about Madhavacharya in this inscription are very interesting and important. Bukka's fame was proclaimed, as far as the eastern, southern and western oceans. His Minister, distinguished for policy and courage, was Madhava, son of Chaunda, an austere ascetic Brahmin of the Angerasa Gotra. Through the favour of his illustrious Guru, Kasivilasa, Madhava gained fame as a Saiva. Madhava subdued this, as well as the next world, by his masterly contemplation. He cleared the ruined paths of the Upanishads, which were overgrown and dangerous from the vile reptiles of the preachers of evil doctrines. Although the abode of Brahma is very far, he was ever helping the worthy to go there without a guide, and was praised by the learned as the Guru, who established the path of the Upanishads. Bukka Raya, after mounting on the throne of Vijayanagar, committed the government as far as the western ocean to his Minister. Madhava, in order that his administration may be without trouble, on the advice of his Guru, Kasivilasa Kriyasakti, worshipped his favourite Linga, by means of daily special rituals as prescribed in the Saivamnaya. After a year of their continuance, with a view to complete his great vow, Madhava requested the permission of his sovereign to make the grant of a village of Muchchundi and its two hamlets, in Nagarkhanda, situated in his own eighteen Mandala country, of which the chief place is Chandrakutapura, to Cashmere Brahmins pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth. Madhava insisted, that the village to be granted, should be purchased not

by the money from the King's treasury, but by the product of the lands which he owned for himself.*

A Chamaraj Nagar inscription dated A.D. 1368 states that when one Vira Bukkana Odeyar was ruling the kingdom, his Brahmin Minister, Basavayya Dhannayaka, made a grant for the service of god Analeswara of Hardanahalli. Another inscription records, under date A. D. 1363, that when Maha Mandalaswara Vira Bukkana Odeyar was ruling the kingdom in wisdom and peace, Basavayya, his Minister, released the taxes on certain lands, granted to god Analeswara in Hardanahalli.

A Mandya inscription dated about A. D. 1360 says that Bukkana Odeyar and others purchased the tank near Holabi.†

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* Chandragutti seems to be the place, mentioned as Chandrakutapura. The eighteen Mandala country, appears to have been the province in Nagar Khanda, which had probably been set apart, by the rulers of Vijayanagar, for the maintenance and dignity of his ministerial office or it may have been purchased from the private funds of the great Minister in order to maintain his own establishments. In the works of Vidyaranya, his father is called Mayanacharya, his family name Sayana, and his Gotra as Bharadwaja. The Cashmere Brahmins seem to have been really very learned to have evoked such praise for their ability and conduct, from a Minister of Madhava's capacity and learning.

This Madhava Mantri, although a Brahmin, appears to be quite different from Vidyaranya. The reasons for this will be explained in the next chapter under Harihara II. This important fact has not been noticed by any of the European writers, and I myself should have missed it, but for the long discussion I had on these inscriptions with Messrs. Chedalwada Sundara Ramasastry and Narain Row, B. A. Madhava Mantri seems to have been a Saraswath Saiva Brahmin, who is called Mada Ursa in the sale deed of the village in question, and a learned Brahmin in the Vedas and Vedantha. He also appears to have been Minister to the provincial ruler in the north-west of Mysore. I draw the attention of the readers to this important discovery and the arguments I have advanced as regards the separate individuality of Vidyaranya from Madhava Mantri.

† In the original inscription no date is given, and Mr. Rice says that the next six lines are invisible on account of the lamp soot. In his translation, what prompted him to fix the date at A.D. 1360 it is not easy to see. The inscriptions collected under government orders, should be given, as they are found; and their transliterations, and translations, should in my

An inscription dated A.D. 1368 (Nunjangud) records that during the reign of Chickka Kampana Odeyar, son of Bukkana Odeyar, an agreement was made by the lords of Thagadur to pay the taxes of the god to the palace authorities. Although he assumes all the titles and says that he was ruling the kingdom of the world, he seems to have been simply a provincial governor in the south of Mysore under his illustrious father Bukka. An inscription dated A.D. 1374, declares that while Bukkana Odeyar was ruling the kingdom of the world, a division was effected among the sons of Kirthi Ursa.*

An important inscription dated S. 1217 or A.D. 1295, declares, that when a petition was presented to Bukkana Odeyar, his father Hukkana Odeyar sent for his son Bukkana and ordered him to make certain arrangements with reference to the royal channel of Lukshmipura, situated in Bukkana's territory of Changanad.

Here the date is distinctly stated in the Kannada *sasana* and the cyclic year Durmukhi, quite agrees with it. The mention of Bukkana Odeyar as ruling in a province called Changanad, under his father Hukkana Odeyar, seems to be pregnant with historical importance, and may eventually lead the archæologists to throw greater light on the origin of the Princes of Vijayanagar. There seems to be

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humble opinion, under no circumstances, be different from their originals. The value of opinions ventured by archæologists, will depend entirely upon their adherence to their originals. Where guesses are made, it would be better to say so distinctly and add them as footnotes, so that the readers, if they are intelligent and acquainted with the language in which the inscription is written, may use their brain power, and draw their own inferences. Otherwise the translations would be greatly misleading and tend to produce much unfounded discussion, especially in the case of readers who are not familiar with the language of the original stone inscriptions or copper-plate grants."

* Mr. Rice (E. C., Pt. I., Mysore, pp. 58—171) dates it in A. D. 1374. The original gives only the cyclic year Ananda. This corresponds with A.D. 1374, for the year Ananda could only occur once during the reign of Bukka.

no reason whatever to add or subtract from the Saka figures, clearly and unmistakably given in the original *sasanas*, and if they do not tally, or support, certain preconceived ideas of archæologists, they have no authority to mutilate them, to make them suit their purposes. As the early Princes, the ancestors of the Vijayanagar rulers, appear to be only feudatory and unimportant rulers, under the Hoysalas, and before them, perhaps under the Chalukyas, it cannot be imagined that their *sasanas* could ever be found in large numbers. A few which might be unearthed, may afford a clue, as regards their origin and this clue, ought to be secured with a sacred duty to find out the truth. This is the second *sasana* which refers to a Bukka, who was a Prince ruling in Changanad, and for aught we know, he may have been the father or grandfather of Sangama, the father of the five brothers, about whom we now know so much.*

A grant to god Janardana of Palya, dated Saka 1283, or A.D. 1361, was made by Tippana Odeyar, the eldest son of Bukkana Odeyar. A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1378, (Channarayapatna), gives particulars which have a peculiar interest in the early history of Vijayanagar. "In the Lunar race was born Yadu," declares this grant "and from him descended Sangama."

He had five sons like Pancha Pandus, the eldest of whom was Hariappa, who appointed his younger brother Bukka as "Yuva Raja, heir-apparent." Bukka, in valour and glory, eclipsed all past and future Kings. When he ruled his kingdom, the earth brought forth abundantly, troubles disappeared, happiness spread its wings over the

* *See* E. C., Vol. V., Pt. I., pp. 28, 258, 772. Mr. Rice in his translation of this *sasana* gives the date A. D. 1357 while in the Kannada it is clearly given as Saka 1217 or A.D. 1295. His reason for adding 62 years is a mystery. In his "transliteration" p. 567, he gives Saka 1278 Durmukhi. Here he adds 61 years to the original. This is a second mystery, which is equally inexplicable. See my note on the Mudagiri inscription.

people, and wealth and plenty increased. Having conquered all the world he built a splendid city and called it Vijayanagar. "Its fort walls were like arms which stretched out to embrace Hemakuta. The points of the battlements like its filaments, the suburbs like its blossom, the elephants like bees, the hills reflected in the water of the moat like stems, the whole city resembled the lotus, on which Lakshmi is ever seated. There, with Thungabhudra as his footstool, the Hemakuta as his throne, he was seated like Virupuksha for the protection of the people of the earth." His Minister was Muddappa Dandanatha, the representation of justice, an ornament to the Lakshmi of the victory of the empire. Honnaye was the chief among the wives of Bukka, and she appears to have been beautiful and intelligent. Harihara their son, was triumphant on his throne. Harihara II. made a grant of a village called Jamboor together with its hamlets to the Brahmins and called it Honnalapura, after the name of his respected mother.

Bukka married Gourambika, and Kamakshi and Harihara was the son of the latter queen according to Mr. Sewell. From these and other documents, it is clear that the five brothers were on good terms, and that Bukka I. succeeded Harihara I. as he had been appointed Yuva Raja early in the reign of Harihara I. The brothers seem to have had provinces of their own, over which they exercised their royal power, employed their own Ministers, and made such grants as were called out by the merits of the parties, or the exigencies of their State policy. When needed, they also appear to have acted as Ministers to the ruling sovereigns at Vijayanagar. As a matter of fact we find that Kampa was "Mantri" to Harihara II. about the year A. D. 1380 and had to employ one Ballappa Dannayaka to administer his province of Hadihad.*

* Ballappa Mantri is called here son of Sangama Raja. Whether he was the son of Sangama who ruled in Nellore and made the Bitragunta

It has already been seen that the vast empire of Delhi was fast breaking up. The revolutions at the capital were too rapid, and too frequent to allow the monarchs any time to consolidate the power they had acquired by conquest.

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Deccan had revolted successfully and Hoosein Gungoo was proclaimed King in A.D. 1347. Warangal had rebelled and expelled most of the Mahomedan garrisons from the Deccan. There were insurrections in the province of Guzerat, and Bengal was virtually independent. Several provinces in the South tried to set up independence and it became a matter of question as to which of the two rising States, the Vijayanagar or the Bahmini should monopolise the sovereignty of the whole of Southern India. When Bukka I. ascended the throne, Alla-ud-deen Hoosein Gungoo was the Sultan of Gulburga. There seem to have been some wars between the Mahomedans and the Hindus, but we have very few authentic details before us to say definitely about them, or the successes which marked their campaigns. Considering the rapid growth of the Vijayanagar empire, it may perhaps, not be unreasonable to say that the Hindu Princes of Vijayanagar do not

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grant, it is difficult to say. If he was, then Ballappa becomes the grandson of Kampa, the second brother of Harihara I. Whether Kampa Mantri is the same as Kampa, the elder brother of Bukka I. is not also very clear. Hadinad is in the Mysore District. It seems to have been the nucleus, from where the ancestors of the present ruling family of Mysore, first met their success to the establishment of a small State. Two young men of the Yadava tribe in the 15th century, called Vijaya and Krishna, came to this place and found an opportunity to show their adventurous nature. The local chief had gone mad, and his daughter was demanded by the Poligar of Kuruguhalli, a neighbouring town, who was of an inferior caste. Hadinad people were helpless. At this juncture these two brothers, by a strategem, killed the Chief of Kuruguhalli, and Vijaya married the girl, after freeing her from the impending degradation. The inscription referred to comes from Chamarajnagar, dated A.D. 1380. Harihara II. seems to have been the son of Bukka and Gourambika, *alias* Honnayu, and Mr. Sewell's statement that Harihara's mother was Kamakshi is without any documentary support.

seem to have suffered any serious defeats, at the hands of their Mahomedan neighbours. On the other hand, their grants show that their arms were usually successful against the "Turushkas," and that they rapidly extended their conquests on all sides of their kingdom. The exact relations of the two rising States towards each other, up to A.D. 1360 cannot be easily ascertained, as neither of them, seems to have had strength enough to oppose the other, with chances of success. But hostilities were not far to seek. Early in the reign of Mohomed, it was discovered that large quantities of gold and silver coins belonging to the Bahmini Sultans were being melted down by the Hindus of Vijayanagar and Warangal, and that numbers of merchants, were put to death. On the other hand, Bukka, as well as the King of Warangal, demanded the restoration of certain territories, from the Sultan of Gulburga. As the Sultan was not ready for war, he wisely managed, during eighteen months, to keep their ambassadors at his court, on some pretext or other, and sent his own ambassadors to the courts of Vijayanagar and Warangal. During this long interval he made careful preparations for his campaigns against these Hindu States. When he was sufficiently prepared, he made extravagant counter demands on the Hindus. Mohomed Shah first ravaged the country up to the gates of Warangal and only retired after receiving heavy sums from its Raja.

Again war broke out between Warangal and Bahmini, and Mohomed Shah advanced against Villampatam, seized it, slaughtered the innocent citizens without mercy, captured the unfortunate Prince Vinayaka Deva and caused him to be shot from the walls of the citadel, so as to fall into the funeral pile that was burning below. After a few days the Sultan retired, but was followed and harassed by large bodies of the Hindus and completely routed. Only 1,500 men returned to Gulburga, the Sultan himself having received a wound. It is difficult to say, the

exact dates on which these events were enacted, but they probably covered the years A. D. 1361-62. The commander who was generally sent to fight the Mahomedans seems to have been Mullinatha, otherwise called by Ferista as Bhoj Mull. We have already referred to Mullinatha as a famous General and warrior who was respected even by the Sultan as a brave commander of the foreign army. Inscriptions say that he commanded the Vijayanagar forces for a long time, and from this we have to infer, that he fought not only against Alla-ud-deen, but also against Mohomed Shah. Bukka seems to have realised his own position as well as that of his neighbouring Hindu King of Warangal and to have sent an embassy to Feroz Shah, Emperor of Delhi, volunteering to offer their services should an army be sent southwards to regain the Emperor's lost power in the Deccan.

But the Emperor of Delhi was busily engaged in the suppression of his internal troubles and had apparently no means or inclination to meddle with the disturbances in the Deccan. Mohomed Shah, collected fresh forces and emboldened, apparently by want of union among the leading Hindu Kings, and the revolutionary troubles at Delhi, despatched them against Warangal and Golconda. The Raja was defeated, Golconda was annexed to the Bahmini kingdom, and Mohomed Shah obtained a magnificent throne from the Raja, valued at four millions sterling, besides immense quantity of treasure, as the price of peace.*

Turning to the affairs of Vijayanagar, there are no authentic records before us to show that there were any disastrous wars with the Mahomedan State of Bahmini up to the year A.D. 1365. From the inscriptions, we however learn, that the Rayas were generally successful,

* The cost of the magnificent throne will now be valued at six crores of rupees according to the present currency.

against the Mahomedans, keeping them continually in check if not in actual fear. Nor do they seem to have neglected the more important work of attending to the strengthening of their kingdom, by acquiring territories far and wide, by establishing suitable border garrisons, by building fresh lines of fortifications, wherever nature assisted them, by defensive lines of rocky hills, and by consolidating their power by wise administration and the introduction of conciliatory laws. From A.D. 1366 the history of Vijayanagar is more eventful, and rapidly rises in interest during the two following centuries, until it reaches its zenith in the reign of the illustrious Krishna Deva Rayalu. The Sultan of Bahmini seems to have been no novice in the art of diplomacy. He was carefully and anxiously watching the rapid growth of the power of the Vijayanagar rulers. He guaged his own strength and that of his formidable adversary, before he determined to deliver a decisive blow at the Vijayanagar sovereign. The fire, that had been kindling between these two powerful States, suddenly blazed and early in the year A.D. 1366 Mohomed Shah, opened his regular campaign against Vijayanagar with all his resources. When parties or nations are prepared to fight, plea for war can easily be procured, and in this case, it was a "drunken draft" given by the Bahmini Sultan on the treasury of the Raya of Bijanagar. Ferista opens this subject in a grand florid style thus:—"One evening, when the spring of the garden of mirth had infused the cheek of Mohomed Shah, with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians, sung two verses of Amir Khusroo in praise of kings, festivity and music. The Sultan was delighted beyond measure, and commanded Mullik Syed-ud-deen Ghori to give the 300 performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raya of Bijanagar.*

* The story comes from an eye-witness called Mullah Daud of Bidar, who was seal-bearer to Sultan Mohomed Shah of Gulburga.

The Minister, though he judged the order, to be the effect of wine, in compliance with the humour of the Sultan, wrote it, but did not despatch it. However Mohomed Shah penetrated his thoughts. The next day he inquired if the draft had been sent to the Ray; and being answered, not, exclaimed, "Think you, a word without meaning could escape my lips? I did not give the order in intoxication, but serious design." Mullik Syed-ud-deen, upon this, affixed the royal seal to the draft, and despatched it by express messenger to the Raya of Bijanagar. The Ray, haughty and proud of the independence, placed the presenter of the draft on an ass's back, and, parading him, through all the quarters of Bijanagar, sent him back with every mark of contempt and derision. He also gave immediate orders for assembling his troops, and prepared to attack the dominions of the house of Bahmini. With this intent he marched with 30,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, and 100,000 foot to the vicinity of Oodanee, from whence he sent detachments to destroy and lay waste the country of the faithful.*

Bukka, in spite of the badness of the season, marched hastily to oppose the progress of the Sultan, and pressed forward to Mudkal, an important place in the Raichore Doab. This was the large triangular country, lying to the west of the junction of the Krishna and the Thungabhadra rivers, a tract which was ever a debatable ground between the Mahomedans and the Hindus, and we find later on that it formed the scene of warfare for the next 200 years. Bukka moved rapidly and captured Mudkal, and put all the inhabitants, men, women and children, to the

* Adoni, as it is now called, is a fine hill fortress with a large town at the base. Extensive lines of fortifications, in a ruined state, can be seen a few miles to the south of the Thungabhadra. On the lines of these precipitous rocky hills are to be seen strong masonry batteries, which must have largely contributed to the strength of this fortress, as a place of defence in the earlier periods of the Hindu history.

sword. Only a man escaped to carry this dreadful tale to the Sultan at Gulburga. Ferista says that when "Mohomed Shah heard this news, he was seized with a transport of grief and rage, in which he commanded the unfortunate messenger to be instantly put to death, exclaiming that he could never bear in his presence a wretch who could survive the sight of the slaughter of so many brave companions." On the same day the Sultan marched southwards taking a solemn oath, "that till he should have put to death, 100,000 infidels, as an expiation for the massacre of the faithful, he would never sheathe the sword of holy war, nor refrain from slaughter." When he reached the banks of the Krishna, he again swore by the Power, who had created and exalted him to the royal position, that "eating or sleeping should be unlawful for him till he had crossed that river, in face of the enemy, by the blessing of heaven, routed their army and gladdened the souls of the martyrs of Mudkal, with the blood of their murderers." He was apparently so determined in this cruel oath, that he appointed his young son Mujahid Shah to succeed him, and Mallik Syed-ud-deen Ghori as his regent during his minority. He then sent them back to Gulburga, and crossed the river without delay with 9,000 chosen horse. Bukka apparently seems to have been alarmed, according to Ferista, at this event, and "he sent off all his treasure, valuable baggage, and elephants towards his capital and prepared himself to engage the enemy or beat a retreat next day as he should find it expedient." The night appears to have been stormy and rain fell heavily. The elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently, in the mud, and were, therefore, not able to advance beyond four miles from the royal camp.*

* The country referred to is a plain composed of a deep alluvial deposit, usually overlying gravel. This is generally known as the black-cotton soil. In these tracts traffic is practically impossible for some days after heavy rains.

Having heard of the enemy's movement during the night, Mohomed Shah, marched at once towards them early in the morning. Bukka, apparently, seems to have been taken by surprise and at a great disadvantage, on account of his heavy and useless baggage, and fled towards the strong fortress of Adoni, leaving everything behind him. Mohomed Shah, entered the Raya's camp, and put all to death without any distinction, and it is said, that the slaughter amounted to 70,000 men, women and children. Mohomed Shah passed some days near Mudkal, and having received reinforcements marched against Adoni; in the plains of which, on the banks of the Thungabhadra, the King of Bijanagar, had taken up his position in his own territories, having given the command of Adoni to his sister's son. Here Bukka had collected a great army, and brought elephants and all the magnificent insignia of royalty from Vijayanagar. Mohomed Shah had a large train of artillery, and in a short time he crossed the Thungabhadra, and entered the dominions of Bijanagar, which were now "for the first time invaded by a Mahomedan sovereign in person." Ferista appears to be correct in this remark, as the Sultan of Delhi had attacked "Anagondi," which is situated on the northern bank of the Thungabhadra, and therefore had not penetrated to the territories lying on the southern bank of that river. Having crossed the river, the Sultan stationed himself within 25 miles of the fortress of Adoni where the Hindus were already prepared for war. Mr. Sewell remarks "that it is difficult to locate, with any certainty, the scenes of this campaign, but I gather generally that finding the Mahomedans aiming at the reduction of Adoni, Bukka marched out with a large force to intercept this move and placed himself on the south bank of the Thungabhadra, in the neighbourhood of the threatened fortress. The Sultan crossed somewhere near the present town of Sirguppa and the great battle that ensued took place

in the open cotton plains, perhaps near Kowtall on the Ordnance Map."

The account given by Ferista of this great battle, between Bukka Raya of Vijayanagar and Mohomed Shah of Bahmini, is interesting and will be quoted for ready reference. Ferista remarks:—"Ray Kishen Ray, on receiving the intelligence, that Mohomed had crossed, called together, all the first nobles of his court, and consulted on the best mode of opposing the Mussalmans. It was agreed that Haji Mull, a maternal relation to the Ray, and commander of his armies, should have the conduct of the war. Haji Mull, vain to excess, on receiving his command, asked the Ray, if he should bring the Prince of the Mussalmans, alive a prisoner into his presence, or present him only his head upon a spear. Kishen Ray replied, that a living enemy in any situation was not agreeable, therefore he had better put him to death, as soon as he should take him. Haji Mull, having received his dismissal, marched to oppose Mohomed Shah with 40,000 horse and 500,000 foot. He commanded the Brahmins to deliver every day to the troops discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite zeal for expelling them. He ordered them to describe the butchery of cows, the insults to sacred images, and destruction to temples practised by the true believers. Mohomed Shah, when the enemy arrived 15 cos of his camp, commanded his General, Khan Mohomed, to muster the troops, who were found to be 15,000 horse, and 50,000 foot. Ten thousand horse and 30,000 foot with all the artillery, advanced under Khan Mohomed. On the 14th of Zeekand (A.H. 767, Thursday, July 23rd, A.D. 1366) the armies of light and darkness met. From dawn till four o'clock in the afternoon, like the waves of the ocean, they continued in warm conflict with each other, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Moosah Khan, and Eeseh Khan, who commanded the right

and left wings of Khan Mohomed's line, drank the sherbet of martyrdom and their troops broke, which misfortune had nearly given a blow to the army of Islam. At this stage Sultan Mohomed Shah appeared with 3,000 fresh horse and restored the spirits of Khan Mohomed as also of the disordered troops, who rallied and joined him. Mukkrib Khan, advancing with the artillery, was not wanting in execution, greatly disordering the enemy's horse and foot. He asked leave to charge and complete the rout. Khan Mohomed upon this detached a number of the nobility to support him and permitted him to advance which he did with such rapidity that the infidels had not time to use fireworks, but came to short weapons, such as swords and daggers. At this time an elephant named 'Shir Shikar,' belonging to Khan Mohomed, refused the guidance of his driver and rushed into the centre of the enemy's line, where he was stopped by the elephants of Haji Mull, and his driver was killed. Khan Mohomed with 500 horse followed and the elephant becoming unruly turned upon the enemy, throwing their ranks into confusion. Haji Mull, after receiving a mortal wound, fled, and his followers no longer made resistance. The infidels seeing their centre broken, fled on all sides. 'The swords of the faithful were not yet sheathed from slaughter, when the royal umbrella appeared. The Sultan gave orders to renew the massacre of the unbelievers. They were executed with such strictness, that pregnant women, and even children at the breast did not escape the sword." After this victory Mohomed Shah despatched accounts of his deeds to his own dominions. "In performance of his vow of massacre, Mohomed Shah next marched towards the camp of Kishen Ray, who thinking himself unable to oppose, notwithstanding his numerous force, fled to the woods and mountains for shelter. The Sultan followed him from place to place, for three months, putting to death all who came in his way without distinction. At length Kishen

Ray took the road to Bijanagar his capital; the Sultan pursuing, soon arrived with his army near the city." He beseiged it for a month, but failing apparently to make any impression upon its impregnable defences, played a dodge to draw out the enemy. Mohomed Shah pretended to retreat, and the King of Vijayanagar seems to have caught the trap, by pursuing the Mussalmans. Mohomed suddenly fell upon the King's camp, but the Ray escaped to his capital. After trying to take the city a second time, the Sultan contented himself, by ravaging the country round Vijayanagar. Mr. Sewell says that Bukka tried to make peace, but the Sultan refused. Ferista says that "at this time a favourite remarked to the Sultan, that he had only sworn to slaughter 100,000 Hindus, but not totally to destroy their race. The Sultan remarked that though twice the number of his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray should submit and satisfy the musicians, he would not pardon or spare the lives of his subjects. To which, the ambassadors, from the Court of Vijayanagar, who had full powers, agreed, and the money was paid at once." The ambassadors, then pleaded that no religion had ordained that the innocent and particularly helpless women and children should suffer for the guilty. If Kishen Ray had been faulty, the poor and wretched had not been partakers in his crimes. The Sultan replied that the decrees of Providence had so ordered, that he had no power to alter them. The ambassadors finally urged, that as the two nations were neighbours, it was surely best to avoid unnecessary cruelty, which would only embitter their relations, with one another." And this argument seems to have had the desired effect upon Mohomed Shah. He was struck by their remarks and swore that he would not, in future, put to death, a single enemy after victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same lenity. This promise of Mohomed Shah, seems to have held good for some years, but, wholesale massacres

were perpetrated by sovereigns, who came after him. Ferista remarks with a triumphant air, that Mohomed Shah had slaughtered 500,000 Hindus, and so wasted the districts of the Carnatic, that for several decades, they did not recover their natural population. Peace seems to have been ultimately effected between the two kingdoms, and they remained without open hostilities for some years. Mohomed Shah died in A.D. 1375 not long before the death of Bukka, which event has been variously dated by writers on the history of Bijanagar.*

This seems to have been according to Ferista, a signal defeat to the Hindus. and this must be so recognised till better documentary evidence comes forward to contradict the narrative of the Mahomedan historian, although to a

* Mr. Sewell says that "the narrative of Ferista is necessarily tinged with bias in favour of the Mussalmans; and that it was not compiled till the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century A.D." As regards Ferista's Hindu names, there is any amount of confusion and misinterpretation. His selection of names looks ludicrous, and funny. He introduces a Ludder Deo (Pratapa Rudra II.) He has a Kishen Ray when he means Harihara I. or Bukka I; and he dubs General Mallinatha, with the title of Haji Mull or Bhoj Mull. It may not perhaps be unreasonable to believe that the army of Bukka was numerically larger than the army of the opposing Mussalmans, but the figures given by Ferista look exaggerated, when we consider the age of Vijayanagar, and the numerous forts and garrisons which it had to maintain, in addition to the army which its King had with him at this battle. Ferista's remarks clearly indicate the vast resources the Princes of Vijayanagar were able to command in the short space of 30 years after the foundation of their empire. Bukka seems to have by good or bad counsel, entrusted the whole conduct of the war to his famous General Mallinatha and to have kept his royal camp at a respectable distance from the actual scene of contest. The description given so graphically by Ferista, shows the capacity of Mallinatha, as a General, for he had succeeded in turning the tables entirely upon the Mussalmans before evening, when he, unfortunately, fell mortally wounded. Watching this moment, Mohomed advanced with fresh troops and the rout of the Hindus became complete. The battle appears to have been fought in the plain close to Adoni, and it is a curious fact to note, that neither Bukka, nor his nephew, who commanded the strong fortress of Adoni, came to the help of the army, when it was disorganised by the fall of their leader, and was flying in all directions for want of a competent leader.

plain mind, the after results greatly reduce the extent of victory which Ferista claims for the Mussalmans.

A few questions naturally suggest themselves at this stage and they demand an explanation. Ferista notes that the army of Mohomed Shah was greatly harassed by large bodies of Hindus, and that the Sultan failed to take the strong city of Vijayanagar, although he received reinforcements, and wanted to capture the capital twice. Mohomed Shah refused to grant peace till the "drunken draft" he issued on the treasury of the Ray of Bijanagar was paid. Ferista further states that the losses on both the sides during the Battle were great, and that the Mahomedans would have been thoroughly routed and annihilated but for the fact of Mallinatha's mortal wound, and consequent removal from the scene of action. The battle is declared to have been fought from dawn till evening and the commanders of the two important wings of the Mahomedan army "had drunk the sherbet of martyrdom."

Although both sides seem to have possessed heavy trains of artillery, they did not play an important part till late in the evening. Considering the temper of the sovereigns, the race hatred the Hindus and the Mahomedans had for each other, and the merit they were supposed to secure from the slaughter of their enemies, it is easy to imagine that the battle must have been very furious and the losses simply terrible. Bukka was a "man of war," and so was also Mohomed Shah. But what made the former inactive and suffer this terrible loss, when he could have routed the enemy by his presence, and reinforcements, it is not easy to guess. Probably both sides were thoroughly exhausted and crippled. The "draft", said to have been paid readily by the Vijayanagar ambassadors could not have been an extravagant one, and as no mention of any further sums is made in the terms of the peace, it may reasonably be inferred that the losses Mohomed Shah

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suffered were far from being adequately compensated by the rich Ray of Bijanagar. If the Sultan had the best advantage in this bloody battle on his side; if the forces of the Hindus had been thoroughly routed and massacred wholesale; if Bukka was really unable to meet the enemy in the open field through terror; if the Sultan's resources in money and men were ample, and if his soldiers had really been as courageous and spirited as Ferista tries to make them appear in his narrative, it is extremely difficult to conceive why a consummate general and statesman like Mohomed Shah should have slept over this timely opportunity, which had so brilliantly presented itself, to strike a fatal blow at his rising enemy, and to have contented himself with the payment of an insignificant sum, and that too, not for himself, but for a party of musicians, who sang two delicate verses from the poet Amir Khusroo. The insult that Bukka was alleged to have offered to the messenger of the Sultan, who brought the "draft" for payment, was a most humiliating and degrading one for a Mussalman Sovereign to bear. The compensation he accepted was a trifling one. The results of this bloody war seem to have left unmistakable marks of depression on both the sovereigns, and till the death of Mohomed Shah we hear no more of wars between the two kingdoms. On the other hand, Ferista says, there existed friendly relations between the two nations for some years. From a careful perusal of the records, this war appears to have been the greatest, between the two rising States since their foundation. There can be no doubt whatever that the subsequent effects of this war must have been disastrous, specially in the regions where the movements of the hostile armies were observed, and it is natural to suppose that the country was laid waste by the uncompromising belligerents.*

* Ferista does not seem to be correct in his note on the friendly relations which existed between the two States for some years. The following

Mujahid, son of Mohomed Shah, succeeded his father on the throne of Gulburga, and he ruled only for three years according to the best authorities. If he declared war and laid siege to Vijayanagar, the interval during which peace prevailed between the two kingdoms could not certainly have been long. Mujahid was only 19 years old when he ascended the throne. Shortly after his accession to the throne, says Ferista, the young Sultan wrote to Kishen Ray "that as some forts and districts between the Krishna and Tummedra rivers were held by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, he must for the future limit his confines to the Tummedra, and give up all on the eastern side, to him, with the fort of Beekapore and some other places." The Ray replied by a "counter demand that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of the Doab, since Raichore and Mudkal had always belonged to the Anagondi family." He also declared that the true boundary was the river Krishna, and Bukka further asked that the elephants taken by Sultan Mohomed should be restored to him. As there is no appellate tribunal, higher than the tribunal of arms, among the sovereigns for the adjudication of their well or ill-founded claims upon each other, Mujahid declared war at once, marched in person, crossed the rivers and appeared before Adoni.*

On hearing that the Ray was encamped on the bank of the Thungabhadra river, he left a division of his army to besiege the fortress, sent a second force to advance

narrative shows that peace between the two kingdoms lasted only for a short time, as Mujahid, the son and successor of Mohomed Shah, soon declared war. The Mahomedan historian apparently contradicts himself.

*Ferista's Kishen Ray, of course, must be interpreted as Bukka I. His Beekapore probably stands for Bankapur with its important fortress, situated to the south of Dharwar. Mr. Sewell says "that the Deccani Sovereigns always looked on it with covetous eyes, as it lay on the direct route, from Vijayanagar to the sea, and its possession would paralyse trade." "Tummedra" [illegible] Ferista is the river Thungabhadra.

towards Vijayanagar, and himself proceeded in a north-westerly direction, by slow marches towards the river with great caution. The Hindu King at first prepared to receive his attack, but for some reason he seems to have lost heart, and retired to the forests on the hills of Sondur, situated to the south of his capital.*

Vijayanagar seems to have grown into a magnificent city, with well furnished treasury, powerful standing armies, strong masonry defence works, and great mercantile, literary, and religious activity. Foreign, as well as domestic merchants, established important centres of commerce, and the learned in arts, sciences, and literature seem to have crowded into this imperial city. The young Sultan having heard great praises of the beauty of this capital advanced to Bijanagar, but finding it almost impregnable against his futile attacks he moved in pursuit of the enemy in the field. Ferista continues his observations by saying "that on the advance of the Sultan Mujahid, the Ray fled through the woods and hills, towards Setu Bunder Ramaswar, followed by the Sultan, who cut passages for his cavalry, through the deep forests, before deemed inaccessible. In this manner the Ray fled from place to place for six months, but never dared to appear

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* Burhani Maasir names this king as "Kapazah." Major King declares that even the vowel marks are distinctly given and that there can be no doubt whatever about the correctness of this name. Mr. Sewell in this connection observes thus:—"I venture to hazard a conjecture that if the word had been written, "Pakzah," transposing the first two consonants, a mistake occasionally made by writers dealing with—to them—outlandish names, the sound of the word would suggest Bukka Shah. There is no name that I have met with amongst those borne by the Kings of Vijayanagar in the remotest degree resembling "Kapazah." The Mahomedan historians seem to have had a peculiar way of dealing with the Hindu names for which we can offer no philological explanations. If Pratapa Rudra can become Ludder Deo, Bukka as Kishen Ray, and Mallinatha as Haji Mull, the transition, which the name of Bukka had to undergo in becoming "Kapazah," although sounds curious and inexplicable to the lay minds, may have a line of defence in the Mahomedan method of thinking, which is incomprehensible to other nations.

without the woods. It was in vain that the favourites of the Sultan represented the pursuit as fruitless and destructive to his troops. He would not desist. At last his good fortune prevailed. The health of Kishen Ray and his family became affected by the noxious air of the woods, and they were warned to quit them by the physicians. The Ray retired by secret paths to his capital Bijanagar. The Sultan sent an army after him, while he with Bahadur Khan and 5,000 men went to amuse himself with the sight of Setu Bundar Ramaswar." *

* The story related by Ferista will hardly hold water, to explain the faint-heartedness of Bukka. Ferista says that "Mujahid, one day, on his march, went after a man-eating tiger of great ferocity and shot it with a single arrow through the heart. The Hindus on hearing of this exploit were struck with dread." Between Vijayanagar and Adoni there are hardly any tigers now found. But there are a large number of panthers. As regards the building of a mosque at Setu Bundar Ramaswar, the records are conflicting. There are some traces of an old mosque at Ramaswar, but whether it was built by Mallik Kaffur is very doubtful. He built a mosque on the west coast of Malabar. Mr. Sewell's remarks about the march of Mujahid Shah to Ramaswar are very pertinent and I quote them here for reference. He rightly observes "that it is extremely improbable that a Mahomedan Sovereign could in the 14th century A.D. have penetrated so far South with such a handful of men. They would have been harassed at every step by myriads of Hindus, who, though doubtless trembling at the sight of a Mahomedan, would, we may be sure, never have permitted 5,000 men to traverse in peace 1,000 miles of forest and mountain, for Ramaswaram is fully 500 miles from Vijayanagar." The same objection might be raised against the march of Mallik Kaffur. But it must be remembered that Mujahid Shah was not Mallik Kaffur and never possessed the capacity of that great general and conqueror. Besides Mallik was trained in leading large armies, making rapid marches, and accomplishing his conquests by great strategic dashes. He started from Delhi with 100,000 horse, and he must naturally have augmented his forces, as he went on subduing kings, capturing impregnable forts, and carrying off immense booty. Mr. Sewell's remarks, therefore, are very sound, and it may be conjectured that Mujahid Shah may have wandered through some of the neighbouring woods for a few months; and when the Ray got back into his capital, besieged him there at once. During those troublous times, the Hindus, by force of circumstances, were well trained in the use of arms, and although their armies were not uniformally successful, it would be absurd to think that the whole army of the Vijayanagar King would have been paralysed, or struck with terror by such an act of Mujahid, as the shooting of a tiger by an arrow. The events which followed the

The Sultan is credited by Ferista to have repaired a mosque which had been built by the officers of Alla-ud-deen, Emperor of Delhi. He is alleged to have broken down many temples of the idolaters, and pillaged the country far and wide. He then returned with great haste to Bijanagar, where his presence was needed to push on with its siege. There were two roads by which the Sultan could approach Bijanagar. One was fit for the passage of armies, while the other was narrow and difficult. As the good road was lined with ambushes, he was compelled to select the latter, through which he marched with a select body of troops and appeared suddenly in the suburbs of the city of Bijanagar. The Hindu King was astonished at his boldness, and sent large numbers of his troops to defend the streets. The Sultan drove them before him, and gained the bank of a piece of water, which alone now divided him from the citadel in which Kishen Ray resided. Near this was an eminence, upon which stood a temple, covered with plates of gold and silver and set with jewels, much venerated by the Hindus and called in the language of the country, Puttuk. *

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inability of Mujahid with his boasted valour to make the slightest impression on the defences of the royal city, the bloody battle that ensued, and the disastrous retreat of the Bahmini Sultan without securing the slightest advantage from this large sacrifice of men and money, ought to convince all readers of Vijayanagar history of the futility of Ferista's remarks, and the credit which that historian tries to fasten on the warriors and leaders of the armies of the "true believers and men of light" in their engagements against the "infidels and men of darkness." An inference, to be sound and genuine, must be based upon indisputable facts. It is unreasonable to think that there were not heroes in the army of Bukka who could have shot tigers by arrows, or to have caught tigers even barehanded. Such acts of courage and skill are not wanting even in these degenerate days of Hindu existence.

* "The piece of water alluded to," says Mr. Sewell, "may have been the picturesque lake at Kamalapuram; but which was the temple which Mujahid destroyed? It seems useless to speculate, considering that the historian only wrote from tradition after the lapse of two centuries. "But," says Mr. Sewell with great force, "the strangest part of the story is that we are not told how the Sultan succeeded in penetrating the outerlines

"The Sultan esteeming the destruction of this temple as a religious obligation, ascended the hill, and having razed the temple, possessed himself of the precious metals and jewels. The idolaters, upon seeing their object of veneration destroyed, raised their shrieks and lamentations to the sky. They obliged Kishen Ray to lead them, and advanced resolutely in astonishing numbers, upon which the Sultan formed his disposition. He laid aside his umbrella, and with one of his arm-bearers, an Afghan named Mahomood, crossed a small rivulet to observe the numbers and motions of the infidels. A Hindu who knew the Sultan from the horse he rode, resolved, by revenging the destruction of his "gods and country," to gain immortal reputation for himself. He moved unperceived through the hollows and broken ground along the bank of the rivulet, had gained the plain, and was charging towards the Sultan at full speed, when Mujahid Shah, by a lucky instant, perceiving him, made a sign

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of works, and in reaching a spot which divided him only from the inner citadel or palace enclosure." Abdur Razaak gives in A.D. 1443 seven lines of fortifications, but it is not easy to guess how many lines of walls Bukka had around his palaces. I have carefully examined these historical spots. The lake at Kamalapur has a line of masonry wall as its bund, and this seems to have been extended on either side to the rising hills to form a formidable line of defence. But if ever this attack took place, I am inclined to refer the reader to a sort of lake about a mile to the north of Kamalapur, and surrounded on three sides by rocky hills, topped with powerful batteries. As Ferista mentions a rivulet in this connection, it is perhaps the broad and deep channel which flows near it that was meant. If Mr. Sewell's guess is correct, then we have no rivulet there, and the enemy's position would have been far more secure. The temple probably was on the top of any one of those hills dedicated to Anjanaya, and may have been a place of great veneration to the Hindus. If my guess is correct, then, the palace of the Ray would be about a mile to the west, protected by three lines of fortifications from the place where Mujahid stood with his select body of troops. Almost close to this place may now be seen the ruins of the palace formerly occupied by the famous Minister, Appaji, during the reign of Krishna Deva Rayalu. There are really no other sheets of water round about the palace precincts, which were large enough to be called lakes and which were separated by strong lines of fortifications from the palace.

to Mahomood Afghan, who without delay charged the Hindu. Mahomood's horse rearing, he fell to the ground. His antagonist having every advantage was on the point of putting him to death, when Sultan Mujahid Shah advanced with the quickness of lightning. The Hindu charged his object, aimed a heavy blow at the Sultan, giving at the same instant a shout of triumph, which made the spectators believe his blow was effectual. Luckily, a helmet of iron saved the head of the Sultan, who now inflicted such a wound on his enemy that he was divided from the shoulder to the navel and fell dead from his horse upon which the Sultan, remounted Mahomood and joined his army on the other side of the rivulet. A fierce battle seems to have ensued in which the Hindus were defeated; but while the Mussalman force had hardly recovered from their fatigue, the Ray's brother arrived at the capital from his government with a reinforcement of 20,000 horse, and a large army of foot. The battle then seems to have raged very furiously. In the middle of this fierce battle, the Sultan's uncle or, as some say, cousin, Daud Khan, fearing for the safety of his king, quitted his post at Dhunnasodra, and joined in the fight with distinguished gallantry. The Mahomedans were again victorious, but the Hindus, having taken advantage of Daud's movement, captured the abandoned position, and seriously threatened the retreat of the Sultan. The Sultan, therefore, had to leave the field, and by skilful manœuvring, enabled the whole of his force to extricate themselves in safety from the hills. With about 60,000 or 70,000 prisoners, mostly helpless women and children, the Sultan retreated from Vijayanagar, and sat down before Adoni, but after a siege of nine months the Sultan had to abandon this fruitless attempt and to retire to his own dominions. Thus ended

the campaign, of Mujahid Shah, in spite of the successes claimed for the Mussalmans by Ferista and the losses incurred by the Hindus. *

From other sources, the details about this battle are given slightly different. Mujahid Shah, on learning of the return of the Ray from the woods into his capital, suddenly turned back and invested the city of Vijayanagar. He was, however, not able to make any impression upon the strong lines of fortifications which surrounded the city, and in one of the skirmishes outside the walls, nearly lost his life. In another he penetrated into the second line of works, where there was a celebrated image of the God Hanumantha, which the Brahmins tried to save.†

* Mr. Sewell thinks "that Dhunnasodra is a lake or tank in the plain on the eastern edge of the Vijayanagar hills, close under a lofty hill called 'Donnasundram'! The hill is 500 feet high and lies within the limits of the village of Kanva Timmapuram. Commanding as it does, the route, by which a force issuing from the capital would attempt by rounding the hills, to cut off the only line of retreat open to the invaders towards the north-east. The importance of the post to the Mahomedan army could not be over-estimated." It is difficult to understand Ferista here. If Mujahid was victorious and the Hindus were defeated, a reasonable inference would be that either a peace would have been concluded, in which the Mussalmans, as conquerors, would have dictated terms and exacted a rich ransom from the Hindus, or that Mujahid would have captured the royal city and its King, and plundered it as was the custom, among the conquerors of those ages. The young Sultan might have been a brave soldier, but he does not seem to have been a great General in as much as he seems to have neglected a splendid opportunity for dealing a decisive blow at his enemy. The victory, claimed by Ferista, for the Mahomedans, seems to have been really a disaster from which Mujahid cleverly managed to extricate himself and his army, and marched off to Adoni with a view to avoid further losses on his side. The brother of Bukka, who arrived with timely reinforcements, and who virtually changed the situation to Bukka's advantage was, probably, Marappa who was ruling in the north-west of Mysore in Araga or Nagarkhanda.

† Vijayanagar is on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra, with continuous rocky hills of considerable elevation on the east and south. Perhaps this temple may have been built on one of the hill sides, enclosing the plain of Nimbapur. Even to-day strong lines of fort walls may be seen on the road to Bukkasagara, and Mujahid must have managed to scale the first lines of defences and enter into the second.

They were however attacked and dispersed, and Mujahid dismounting from his horse struck the image in the face, and mutilated its features. A dying Brahmin, lying at the foot of the image thus cursed the King. "For this act," the Brahmin said, "thou wilt die ere thou reachest thy kingdom," a prophecy which was literally fulfilled. The image, hewn out of a large boulder of granite, still remains and shows the marks of Mujahid's mutilation. The last efforts of Bukka, to dislodge Mujahid Shah from his position, proved more successful, for after a bloody engagement, Mujahid retired with very heavy loss, in officers and men, accompanied by, from 60,000 to 70,000 captives, chiefly women." Sultan Mujahid had observed his father's guarantee, not to put to death any of the inoffensive inhabitants. Daud Khan, the King's uncle, who had command of a division of the army, in the last battle before Bijanagar, and who had been severely reprimanded, by the Sultan, for withdrawing from the place, which had been specially assigned to him, and joining in the general engagement, felt greatly displeased at the Sultan's treatment. Smarting under this affront, Daud now conspired against his nephew, and assassinated him with his own hand,* when asleep in his tent on the 14th April, A.D. 1378. Mujahid Shah had reigned scarcely three years, and as he had no issues, Daud Khan being heir-presumptive, claimed succession and was at once acknowledged as Sultan by the army. But his succession was disputed by many, and specially by Roohpurwar Agha, the sister of the late King, who instigated one of her late brother's most attached attendants, to revenge his master's death. As Daud Khan was kneeling in prayer, in the principal mosque at Gulburga, he was cut

*Some authorities ascribe 16th April A.D. 1378 as the date of the murder of Mujahid, and 21st May as the date of the assassination of Daud Khan, in the same year. The Mahomedan date given is 21st Mohurram A.H. 780.

down by the assassin and Daud died on the spot. This happened on 19th May A.D. 1378.*

This unfortunate monarch reigned only for a month and five days. An attempt was made by some of his adherents, to place his son Mohomed, a boy only nine years old, on the throne of Gulburga, but this was opposed by the Princess, and Mohomed, the younger son of Alla-ud-deen Hoosein, was crowned as King with the consent of all parties.

Mujahid Shah was only 19 years of age when he succeeded his father on the throne of Gulburga. His father left him a compact and flourishing kingdom, a full treasury, an immense property in jewels and elephants, with a well-manned and properly disciplined army. Mujahid was tall and majestic in person and possessed of great bodily strength. Ferista records that at the age of 14, Mujahid had broken the neck of an opponent in a wrestling match. According to Ferista, the Princes of the House of Bahmini, maintained themselves by superior valour only, for in power, wealth, and extent of country, the Rayas of Bijanagar were greatly their superiors. He declares that at this time, as certainly in after years, "all Southern India had submitted to the sway of the Bijanagar Rayas. The seaport of Goa, and the fortress of Malgaon belonged to the King of Vijayanagar, and many districts of Tulughat, were also in his possession. His country was well peopled, and his subjects were submissive to the King's authority. The Rayas of Malabar, Ceylon, and other Islands and countries kept ambassadors at his court and sent annually rich presents to the Raya of Bijanagar." When these important events occurred, Bukka was not idle. He overran the Doab, advanced as far as the river Krishna, and invested the impregnable fortress of Raichore. But Bukka, according to Ferista, seems to have raised the seige after Mohomed I. was proclaimed King

at Gulburga and also agreed to pay the tribute which he had promised to Mohomed Shah.*

Ferñao Nuniz, in his Chronicle, apparently seems to devote a short paragraph to the reign of Bukka and it will be quoted in full for ready reference. "King Dehorao," writes Nuniz, "reigned seven years, and did nothing therein, but to pacify the kingdom, which he left in complete tranquility." This of course refers or is supposed to refer to Harihara I., who, according to the latest *sasanas* seems to have ruled up to A.D. 1354. But Nuniz places his death in A. D. 1239 or A. D. 1240, and even if a century is allowed to Nuniz as Mr. Sewell seems to do, the date comes up to A. D. 1339 or A. D. 1340 and not A. D. 1343 as he contends. †

Continuing his Chronicle, Nuniz goes on to say "that by his death, one called Bucarao, inherited the kingdom, and he conquered many lands, which at the time of the destruction of that kingdom, remained rebellious, and by him they were taken, and turned to his lordship, and he took the kingdom of Oorya, which is very great,

* There seems to be no logic in supposing that when Bukka (with the timely help of his warlike brother Marappa who arrived with large reinforcements at the most critical time) dislodged the Sultan from his advantageous position, and compelled him to beat a hasty retreat, he would have consented to pay any tribute, simply because a new sovereign ascended the throne of Gulburga. In the terms of peace, proposed and accepted between Mohomed Shah and Bukka in the first war the stipulation was only for payment of the "drunken draft," and this seems to have been paid at once by the ambassadors of Vijayanagar. There is no mention of any tribute in the peace conditions, and later on we have seen no references made to it in Ferista. It is difficult to see why a victorious ruler would consent to pay tribute.

† Nuniz clearly says that Anagondi was taken in A.D. 1230, the Raja was put to death with his troops, and Mohomed Toglak remained there two years. This will bring up the date to A.D. 1232. Then Mallick Niby was appointed deputy and he was compelled to restore the kingdom to Dehorao. This must have been in A.D. 1232 or A.D. 1233. Even if a century is added to it, it will be only A.D. 1333 and Dehorao ruled for seven years. This comes up to A.D. 1340.

it marches on Bemgalla. He reigned 37 years being not less feared than esteemed and obeyed by all in his kingdom. On the death of that King Bucarao, there came to the throne his son called Purouyre Deorao, which in Kanarese means "a powerful lord"; and he coined a money of 'parodas' which evenn ow they call 'Purouyre Deorao,' and from that time forward it has become a custom to call coins by the names of the Kings, that made them, and it is because of this that there are so many names of 'parodas' in the kingdom of Bisnaga. And this King in his time did nothing more than leave at his death as much conquered country as his father had done." So that even if we take A.D. 1332 as the date of Dehorao's commencement of rule, the joint reign of himself and his brother Bucarao, comes up to 44 years and brings us to A.D. 1376. Mr. Sewell places the "death of Bukka I. in about A.D. 1379."*

A comparison of the various sources of information, leads us to introduce the following documentary evidence, for the acceptance of the readers, and they will have to judge for themselves which is the most reliable:—We have (1) the Chronicles of Nuniz, who visited the court of Atchuyta Raya in the 16th century, and who must have collected his information, about the old Kings of Vijayanagar, from intelligent people during his stay at the capital of this great Hindu empire; (2) the narrative of Ferista who wrote his history after the fall of Vijayanagar, from information, which he must have mostly obtained from Mahomedan sources; and (3) the stone and copper-plate inscriptions which have been left to the succeeding generations, by the Vijayanagar sovereigns themselves, or their Ministers or Generals under their authority. Most of the historical information, about the ancient dynasties in India, has been gathered from the

* *See* Sewell's "Forgotten Empire", pp. 47, 291, 300, 301. I suppose Nuniz means by "Purouyre Deorao" Harihara II. who succeeded Bukka I.

perusal of the inscriptions, which have been discovered under Government control, and there is very little reason to disbelieve facts when they have been sufficiently corroborated by inscriptions discovered in different parts of the country.

Ferista's, as well as Sewell's histories, will have to be corrected in the matter of Princes who fought in the years A. D. 1377-78. Mr. Sewell says on p. 47 of his "Forgotten Empire" that "the decease of Bukka I. of Vijayanagar must apparently, for reasons shown, be placed at about A. D. 1379." What these reasons are, which prompted him to fix A. D. 1379 as the date of the death of Bukka I. are not given in his history. Ferista seems to have got out of this difficulty by calling the Vijayanagar Prince, who fought with Mohomed and Mujahid as Kishen Ray, so that this name may be fixed, by other writers on Vijayanagar history, either on Bukka I. or on Harihara II. A fine copper-plate grant (Yedatore), dated Saka 1298 (Nala) A. D. 1376 on the first day of the dark half of the lunar month Phalguna, on Tuesday, in the constellation of Uttara Phalguni, Hari Hara Mahipala residing in the great royal city of Vijayanagari made a grant of the village of Hebsur, with its 40 hamlets, belonging to Kongunad on the north branch of the Cauvery, in the Hoysana country, forming them into an Agrahar, named Bukkarajapura, divided into three parts, in order that his father Maharajadhi Raja Raja Paramaswara Vira Bukka Raja might obtain Sivasayujya (union with Siva), and through the removal of his sins, acquire the grace of Paramaswara, bestowed it, with all the rights of possession, on Brahmins, and appointing as manager Devaswara Pundit, and giving him one-third part. From this it seems to be quite c[illegible] s name of Honna[illegible] it t[illegible] benefit, it is safer to think th[illegible] he [illegible]e died a short time before this [illegible] inscriptions and copper-plate [illegible]ginal carefully. It is in Sanskrit, [illegible] Kamakshi as the mother of H[illegible] Mr. Sewell fixes that name u[illegible]ain. This inscription

points to the irresistible inference, that it was made apparently after the conclusion of the death obsequies of Bukka Raya, by his son Harihara II. Another inscription (Rakshasa), A. D. 1375, dated Saka 1297, records the erection of a Virakal, during the reign of Bukka Raya, by the Brahmins of Tagarathi in Thoranad, in honour of Siriya Moloji, who defended their cows against robbers and was killed. But the most important inscription is that which is dated Saka 1298 (Nala), on the 12th day of the bright half of the lunar month Aswija, or A. D. 1376 when Vira Bukka Raya was ruling the kingdom, Avali Baichigouda died, and his junior wife Muddigaundi, made Sahagamana with him and obtained *swarga*. The Avali Prabhus set up this stone in their honor, and it was engraved by Modoja Nagoja. Thus we see that Bukka I. was alive in Aswija of Nala Saka 1928, but seems to have died before the month of Phalguna in the same year. Aswija generally corresponds with October and Bukka I. was living in that month. But Phalguna in Saka 1298 of the same year Nala, corresponds with March of 1377, and he seems to have died in February 1377, to have enabled his son Harihara II. to have completed his death obsequies, and after their due performance, to have granted the village of Hebasur with its 40 hamlets, to the Brahmins, for the spiritual benefit of his illustrious father Bukka Raya Maharaya. In conformity with this view, we have a large number of inscriptions granted after this date by Harihara II. which will be noticed in the next chapter in their proper places. The campaign of Mujahid, Sultan of Gulburga, against the Vijayanagar Princes seems to have covered the period from June 13[illegible] to about April 1378. If Bukka's death took place in F[illegible]ruary 1377, then Harihara II. must have bee[illegible] the ruli[illegible] [illegible]h the help of his brother, dro[illegible] M[illegible] [illegible]ijayanagar after some mo[illegible] [illegible]jahid's death, and advanced t[illegible] [illegible]ng the

country and eventually laying siege to the important fortress of Raichore. As yet no *sasanas* have been discovered, which speak of Bukka as ruling in A.D. 1377-1378 or A.D. 1379. Under these circumstances it may not be considered unreasonable if Bukka's death is fixed early in A. D. 1377, and Harihara his son by Gourambika—(also called Honnaye), succeeded him on the throne of Vijayanagar as Harihara II. *

It is extremely difficult to value the character of Bukka in the face of the contradictory evidence before us. A person who reads the narrative of Ferista in the wars of Sultan Mohomed and Mujahid against Bukka cannot but be struck at the timidity or faintheartedness of Bukka betrayed in all his engagements against the Mahomedans. But a careful perusal of the inscriptions, shows that he was a man of war, before whose prowess, all the neighbouring Princes trembled, and the faces of the Turukas shrivelled up. As is often the case with great military monarchs and Generals, Bukka may have shown on one or two important occasions an unaccountable inactivity or faintheartedness foreign to his nature, and thus missed chances, which under better leading or spirit, might have proved of immense advantage to him. Even during the reign of Harihara I., as "Yuva Raja" he seems to have been entrusted with important military operations and to have been usually successful in all his wars. He extended his territories rapidly, and placed his brothers, sons, nephews and other close relations in imp[ortant] positions.

* Mr. Sewell in his "S. I. Ant.," Vol. II., p. 243, says that Harihara II. was the son of Kamakshi, and not of Gourambika. The inscriptions are clear on this point, and they sp[ea]k of Harihara as the son of Gourambika, who also seems to have been [ca]lled Honnaye. As an inscription clearly says that Prince Harihara II. b[ui]lt an agraharam called Honnalapura, after his mot[illegible] ...ave and gave i[t t]o Brahmins for his mother's spiritu[illegible] ...at [w]as her son. So far as I have examine[d] ...ol grants there is no mention of the nam[illegible] ...arihara II. I do not know on what auth[illegible] ...pon Harihara's mother.

He was no doubt ably assisted in his civil and military functions by the counsels of Sage Vidyararya, and Bukka seems to have been a great patron of arts, sciences and literature. The country was prosperous and well populated. Religious toleration seems to have been a special characteristic of the rulers of Vijayanagar. His kingdom now extended from the western to the eastern coasts and almost the whole of Southern India appears to have been under his sway. During his reign, the royal city of Vijayanagar was greatly improved, and appears to have attracted the special attention of the Mahomedan Princes by its extent, magnificence and wealth. Trade was encouraged and schools were established for imparting spiritual as well as temporal education. The civil administration had assumed a settled form; and taxes were regularly collected at rates consistent with the productive capacity of the lands. The large number of tanks, villages, and towns built after his name and under his orders, shows his keen interest in agricultural and economical conditions. Temples, agraharas and canals sprang up in quick succession and the people, so far as we can see from Ferista and other writers, were contented, happy and loyal. Bukka, not only subdued all rebellious Princes, but brought them under one central administration. He commanded their love and esteem, and on the whole he seems to have been a man of remarkable, civil and military capabilities. Bukka also appears to have had very able Ministers, who were entrusted with important functions. One of these was Muddappa, the "dwelling place of justice and policy, an ornament to the Lakshmi of victory of the kingdom, to whom Bukka committed the cares of his empire and himself remained at ease like Vasudeva."

Harihara inherited from his illustrious father Bukka, the wealth of the kingdom together with the wise Minister Mudda Dandadhipathi.*

Marappa was ruling in the north-west of Mysore, and Kampa had the charge of Nellore and Cuddapah Districts. In the light of the numerous inscriptions, describing their names, functions and the provinces, where they were ruling, of the various brothers of Bukka I., and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the persons were not, what they purported to be, in these genuine documents or that there was any dispute about the succession to the throne of Vijayanagar after the death of Harihara I. The liberal use of the hyperbole in many of the inscriptions seems to have been the fashion of the times, but they strike the readers as original and genuine. It is remarkable that Bukka and Vidyaranya, the greatest General and the greatest Statesman, respectively, of the age, had so combined their efforts that the empire founded by the latter, progressed rapidly, "till it reached its zenith in the reign of Krishna Deva Rayalu." Their policy with respect to the Mahomedans, Jains and Vaishnavas, formed an admirable contrast, to the religious bigotry, which had actuated the policy of the Sultans of Gulburga. Plunder seems to have been the object of the Mussalman sovereigns, while consolidation of their power and protection of the subjects brought under their sway, seem to have been the aims of the Vijayanagar Princes. Bukka must have been old when he died. He must have been in the prime of youth, when the city of Vijayanagar

* *See* Inscription dated A.D. 1378 (Channarayapatna). Muddappa referred to here, may have been Bukka's brother. Mr. Rice says on p. 346, "M. G." Vol. I., that "what became of Muddappa does not appear." The five brothers seem to have been famous in their own ways, and Mudda Dandadhipathi may be the younger brother of Bukka; if so he will be uncle of Harihara II. Mr. Sewell says on p. 48, "F. E.," that "Mudda is mentioned in two inscriptions of A. D. 1379 and A.D. 1382 as the King's General.

was founded in A.D. 1336, and made "Yuva Raja" by Harihara I. and entrusted with important military expeditions. He died 41 years after its foundation. Even if we assume his age to be about 30 or 35 years in A.D. 1336, he must have been about 70 or 75 years when he died, Harihara I. must have been an elderly man when he ascended the throne of Vijayanagar and his brother Bukka could not have been very much younger. From the foundation of the empire up to his death after 41 years, Bukka seems to have had a prominent part assigned to him in its administration and progress. As Yuva Raja, he ruled for 14 or 15 years, and as King of Vijayanagar, he seems to have ruled for over quarter of a century. His reign was eventful, and he was able to consolidate his power to a remarkable extent. Vidyaranya seems to have been their Chief Minister, and Counsellor, while they possessed quite a large number of Ministers, who probably referred all complicated questions to Vidyaranya when there was any need, and acted under his general control and guidance.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Harihara II.

Harihara II. seems to have succeeded his great father Bukka without any dispute, as did his father Bukka when his eldest brother Harihara I. died. The inscriptions are clear on this point, and Harihara II. has been specially distinguished as the lucky son of Bukka and Gourambika. Bukka I. seems to have had five or six sons, and probably they were all by different wives. If the death of Bukka is to be placed in the early part of A.D. 1377, then it seems to be plain that soon after his accession to the throne of Vijayanagar, Harihara II. had to engage himself in a bloody

war with the Mahomedans, from which he appears to have emerged with some advantages on his side.

The correctness of the Chronicles of Nuniz with reference to the dates of the succession and death of the early Vijayanagar Princes, appears to be rudely shaken by the clear statements, which are found recorded in the inscriptions discovered all over Southern India, and the Deccan. By this it must not be supposed, that Nuniz was wanting in his veracity, as an observer, or that he introduced untruths into his "Chronicles" knowing them to be really as such. A special distinction must be made between his narration of facts which he observed personally or learnt from those who saw personally what they related, and those statements, about the early history of this great empire, which Nuniz obtained from men, who were strong in their traditional lore, and in whom Nuniz had necessarily to place great confidence. He was a Portuguese traveller, and as such laboured under special disabilities, in the matter of his knowledge of the South Indian vernaculars.

As stories, his observations, may be very interesting, but as facts, which have to be assimilated into the body of the historical fabric, they require careful examination before they can be safely introduced as authentic records. Whatever theories we may accept as regards the foundation of the new dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar, we have seen already, that for dates, about the early Vijayanagar rulers, we cannot hold Nuniz as correctly informed. His reign of seven years granted to the first King Deorao (Harihara I.) has been found to be entirely falsified by the strong light thrown upon that sovereign's rule, from the numerous inscriptions. In the face of such unmistakable facts, it would be idle to say that Harihara I. died in A.D. 1343. The date Nuniz gives for the invasion of Mohomed Toglak as A.D. 1230, is only one century earlier, and has

no value in a historical work. Nuniz distinctly says that Buccarao reigned 37 years, and this period has already been proved to be quite incorrect in the preceding chapter. Therefore his statements about Harihara II. may not be of much value, as, he not only gives a small paragraph to this important sovereign, but also he makes no mention either of the date of his accession to the throne, the length of his reign, or the date of his death.*

Continuing his "Chronicles," Nuniz goes on to say that "on the death of that King Buccarao, there came to the throne, his son called 'Purouyre Deorao' which in Canara means 'powerful lord' and he coined a money of parodas, which even now they call 'Purouyre Deorao,' and from that time forward, it has become a custom to call coins by names of the Kings that made them, and it is because of this that there are so many names of parodas, in the kingdom of Bisnaga. And this King, in his time, did nothing more than leave at his death as much conquered country as his father had done." Nuniz dismisses Harihara with this short para. and then goes on to say "that this King had a son who by his death, inherited the kingdom, who was called Aja Rao; and he reigned 43 years, in which time, he was always at war with Moors." †

Mr. Sewell says that "according to the inscriptions Harihara II. reigned at least 20 years, and he was the first King who gave himself imperial titles under the style of Maharaja Dhi Raja He gave many grants to the

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*Mr. Sewell often seems to be misled by facts enumerated in his "Chronicles" by Nuniz without taking the trouble on his part of comparing his statements with those, which are recorded by the numerous inscriptions, in the reading of which Mr. Sewell seems to have spent a lot of his time, energy and patience.

† When we turn to Mr. Sewell we have a few more details about Harihara II. Mr. Sewell does not seem to have carefully examined all the important inscriptions bearing on this reign, and therefore some of his inferences ventured in his "Forgotten Empire" may have to be amended, perhaps, when he calls out a second edition of his valuable book.

temples, and consolidated the supremacy of his dynasty over all Southern India. Sayana, brother of Madhavacharya, appears to have been his Chief Minister, as he was to King Sangama II. Mudda is mentioned in two inscriptions of A. D. 1379 and A. D. 1382 as the King's General Another of his Generals was called Eruga. He was son of Chaicha, Minister of Bukka II. His name appears on a pillar in a Jain temple near Kamalapur, at Vijayanagar, in an inscription bearing date A. D. 1385, which proves that the King was tolerant in religious matters. There seems also to have been a General named Gunda, living in his reign, but his date is uncertain. According to another inscription, King Harihara, early in his reign, expelled the Mahomedans from Goa, and the last inscription of his reign at present discovered mentions that one Bachana Odeyar was then Governor of that place. The King's wife or one of his principal wives was Malla Devi or Mallambika. The extent of his domination is shown by the fact that inscriptions of his reign are found in Mysore, Dharwar, Conjeevaram, Chingleput and Trichinopoly. He was a worshipper of Siva under the form Virupaksha, but appears to have been singularly tolerant of other religions. The latest actual date of the reign afforded by inscriptions is October 15, A. D. 1399."*

As regards the inaccuracy of Nuniz in his dates about the early Vijayanagar rulers, Mr. Sewell frankly says thus:—"I can give no explanation as to why Nuniz calls the successor of Harihara II. 'Aja Rao' nor as to his estimate of 43 years for his reign. The names and lengths of reigns given to Aja Rao's successors by our Chronicler,

* Mr. Sewell appears to be wrong when he says that "the first inscription of his successor Harihara II. is dated A. D. 1379." He quotes Hultzsch's Ep. In., Vol. III., p. 24, which is also off the mark. (*See* page 27, "Forgotten Empire"). From this and other important details mentioned by Mr. Sewell, it seems to be plain that he did not consult the latest discovered inscriptions when he gathered his materials for his invaluable work. The whole of this paragraph requires correction.

prove that by Aja Rao, he means two Kings, Bukka II. and Deva Raya I., and the period covered by their combined reigns was only 14 years, not 43." To a logical mind, Nuniz proves that he was confounding centuries and years, the names of the sovereigns and the dates of their accession to the throne of Vijayanagar and their death. The Chronicler has not certainly proved that by "Aja Rao," he meant two Kings "Bukka II. and Deva Raya I." During the reign of Harihara II. about the end of A.D. 1398 or the beginning of A.D. 1399, a war seems to have broken out between this kingdom and that of the Bahmini. Ferista's observations must be quoted, to enable the readers to follow this war. Turning to the Bahmini Sultans, we have seen that Daud was murdered about the latter part of May, A.D. 1378, and he was succeeded by Alla-ud-deen's youngest son, Mohomed I. Mohomed appears to have been welcomed by all parties and it is alleged that even the "Raya of Vijayanagar (Harihara II.), raised the siege of Raichore and agreed to pay the tribute exacted by Mohomed Shah." So at least says Ferista. *

Mohomed I. seems to have reigned nearly 20 years, and was fortunate in inducing his maternal grandfather Suf-ud-deen Ghori, his father's chosen companion and counsellor, whose wisdom and foresight had mainly contributed to the well government of the kingdom since its foundation, to become his Minister. Mohomed himself was of a peaceful and virtuous disposition, and during his reign, both foreign wars and domestic insurrections, were unknown. Considering the times during which he lived, Mohomed had but one wife, to whom he was loving and constant, and in his literary tastes, and the duties of the kingdom, he found congenial and ample

*I cannot understand why the Raya of Vijayanagar should have consented to pay tribute when a new man ascended the throne. These Princes do not seem to have paid tributes even when they were defeated. Ferista's logic seems to be incomprehensible to me.

occupation. During the season of scarcity, he ordered 10,000 bullocks to bring grain from Malwa and Guzerat and distributed the food among the suffering poor. He established schools and endowed them liberally for their maintenance. This Prince died on the 20th April, A.D. 1397, and his eldest son, Gheis-ud-deen, a lad of 17 years of age, succeeded him on the throne. But on the 14th of June, A.D. 1397, he was treacherously blinded during an entertainment by an ambitious slave named Lall Cheen, who aspired to the office of a Minister. His younger brother Shams-ud-deen succeeded him on the throne, but after a nominal rule of five months, he was blinded and deposed by his cousin, Feroze Shah, second son of the late Sultan Daud, his first son, Mohomed, having been blinded by Roohpurwar Agah to prevent dissension when Mohomed succeeded Daud. Feroze Shah seems to have been a member of the elder branch of this royal family, and he became one of the most celebrated Princes of his line. He ascended the throne on the 15th November, A.D. 1397, and must have been an elderly man at the time, as Ferista calls him an old man in A.D. 1419. He was called the "merry monarch of the Deccan," and even after the lapse of 500 years, his name survives in song and tradition. He was passionately fond of music, and drank hard. But his love of pleasure never interfered with the performance of his State business. He worked assiduously during the day, and the evenings were given up for pleasure. His entertainments were open to all who chose to come. He had an immense harem and boasted that it contained select ladies from all parts of the world, including fair Europeans. He seems to have had acquaintance with several languages, as he declared with pride, that he could speak to each lady in his harem, in her own tongue. He founded a town on the Bheema, built a fort and ditch, and called it Ferozabad. In A.D. 1398, Deva Raya of Bijanagar, encouraged by the news, of constant revolutions at

Gulburga, invaded the Raichore Doab, with 30,000 horse and a vast army of foot. The campaign does not seem to have lasted long. Mr. Sewell says that "the first movement of the Hindu army must therefore have taken place at the beginning of the cold season of A.D. 1398, probably not earlier than December, in that year, when the great cotton plains across which the troops had to march, were passable." Harihara II. must have been an old man, and probably he entrusted this invasion—for which we find no reason given in Ferista—to his son Bukka, whom Ferista calls Deva Raya. It is possible to believe that Harihara's son, Bukka, called Deva Raya, may have been entrusted with this command. The Hindu Princes wanted to capture the important fortresses of Mudkal and Raichore, which were now in the possession of the Bahmini Sultans. Feroz Shah was not slow in moving to meet the enemy, and on his way he slaughtered a Hindu Chief and seven or eight thousand of his followers, who had been very troublesome and refractory. The Krishna was then in full flood, and the Raya advancing to the northern frontier of the debatable ground, encamped on its bank. The Sultan held a council of war, but the advices he received were not satisfactory. A Mahomedan Cauzy, named Seranje, reading the concern of the Sultan, offered to cross the river with a few of his friends, to assassinate Deva Raya or his son as the circumstances would permit. Hundreds of boats, covered with hides, were prepared expeditiously for the troops to cross. The Cauzy, with seven of his friends, disguised as holy mendicants, proceeded to the Raya's camp, and repaired to the quarter where the dancing-girls resided. The Cauzy pretended to fall in hopeless love with a courtesan and committed many extravagances to support his assumed character. In the evening she dressed herself in her best jewels, and when about to start, the Cauzy fell on her feet like a maddened lover, and begged her not to be absent from him. She said that she was invited to the tent of the

Raya's son, and could not disobey his orders neither could she take anybody, who did not belong to the class of musicians, on which he gave her such proofs of musical skill, that she was delighted at his performance, and thinking their company would give her superiority over her fellows and get her special recognition from the Raya's son, she took him and his companions to the tent of the young Raya. Several actors performed at the same time and the dancing-girl now obtained permission for the Cauzy and one of his companions to show their feats. Having been disguised as women, they entered the "tent, ogling and smiling and so well imitated the murmurs, in playing on the mundel, dancing and mimicry, that the Raya's son was charmed with their performances. At length each drew a dagger and like the dancers of Deccan, continued to flourish them, for sometime, making a thousand antic postures, in advancing, retreating and turning round. At last suddenly rushing upon the Raya's son, they plunged both the daggers into his breast, afterwards attacking his companions. Their remaining friends, who were watching without the tents, on hearing an alarm, ripped up the curtain, and entered to assist them. Many of the company being much intoxicated, were easily put to death. The Cauzy with his friends extinguished all the lights, and making their escape through the rent, mingled with the crowd. The outcry became general round the tents." Some cried out that the Sultan had crossed the river and surprised the camp, while others said that one of his Chiefs, with 12,000 men, had murdered both the Raya and his son. The night seems to have been extremely dark, and the camp of the Raya extended for nearly 10 miles; so that various rumours were circulated, and the different Chiefs, ignorant of the real cause of alarm, contented themselves with waiting in their own quarters under arms. About 4,000 of the Sultan's troops in this interval, crossed the river in boats and drafts.

"The enemy's foot stationed to oppose the passage, terrified by the alarm in camp, and the approach of the Sultan's forces, fled in confusion, without waiting to be attacked. Before morning Feroz Shah had crossed the river with the whole of his army, and at dawn, assaulted the enemy's camp with great fury. Deva Raya grieved by the death of his son, and panic-struck at the bravery of the assailants, made but a faint resistance. Before sunrise, having taken up his son's corpse he fled with his army. The Sultan gained immense plunder in the camp and pursued him to the vicinity of Bijanagar. Several actions happened on the way, all of which were fortunate to the Sultan and the roads were heaped up with the bodies of the slaughtered Hindus." The Raya seems to have taken refuge behind the walls of Vijayanagar, while the Sultan sent his brother Ahmed (afterwards Sultan) to ravage the rich districts, which lay to the south of Bijanagar. Ahmed carried out his instructions, plundered the country, and returned with many prisoners, amongst whom there were many Brahmins. The friends and relations of these in the city begged the aged King to offer ransom, and after much negotiation the Sultan accepted "ten lacs of hons" and consented to enter into a treaty. As per its terms, the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before the war, and each party agreed to refrain from disturbing the subjects of the other. Mr. Sewell says with great force, that "this does not look as though the Sultan had gained any very material advantage in the campaign, since the true boundary was always a subject of dispute." The "Burhani Maasir," devotes only a short para. for recording the events of this war, and says that the Sultan began the war, and that at its close, he accepted a large indemnity, and promise of payment of annual tribute. Mr. Sewell observes that "not long after this war but certainly not before October 15th, A.D. 1399, Harihara II. died and was succeeded by Bukka his son." We shall now

turn our attention to the examination of inscriptions and determine, in the light, which may be thrown by them, on the internal condition of the Hindu subjects during the reign of Harinara II., and try to fix the length of his reign and the date of his death.

An inscription dated A.D. 1377 records that Madarasa was ruling Araga and Gutti, when Harihara II. was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom. Another inscription dated A.D. 1377, states that when Harihara Maharaya was ruling, his brother Udayagiri Virupanna's female apartments, and his mother Padmala Devi, gave some grants to Virabhadra God, in Araga. Padmala Devi appears to have been one of the wives of Vira Bukka Raya, by whom, he had Virupannah Odeyar, who probably at this time ruled in Araga as Viceroy under his brother Harihara II.

An inscription dated A.D. 1377 (Nala), records that while Vira Bukka Raya's, son Udayagiri Virupanna Odeyar, was ruling the Araga kingdom, all the Nadu Prabhus (Chiefs) gave to Bechairasa's son, Govindeva, a gift. Another inscription dated A.D. 1379 (Kalayukti), declares that Harihara was ruling in peace and wisdom. This is greatly damaged and the contents cannot be properly guessed. A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1378 (Kalayukti), gives a graphic account of Bukka's reign, and the succession of Harihara II. on the throne of Vijayanagar. Harihara, it says, was the son of Bukka and Honnaye, who was in accomplishments like the science of love ,in wisdom like the Vedas, and though Bukka had many wives she was the chief and the fulfiller of his desires. Then like Harihara (god), their son Harihara II. was glorious as a King. Inheriting from his father all the wealth of the kingdom together with the Minister Mudda Dandadhipathi, for the purpose of clearing away all darkness, he as King, was the cause of joy to all the people. Virupaksha himself as the supreme deity of his family, Kriasakti as his family

Guru and the minister able in protecting and punishing, did he inherit along with the same city. On his making the Hemadri gift to Brahmins according to the shastras, the Devatas forsook their pleasant abodes in paradise and resorting to the Chuttrams and Agraharas Harihara established, dwelt unknown to him, in the pictures on the walls. Harihara II. gave the village of Jambur to the Brahmins in the Hoysana country, together with its hamlet at the time of the eclipse of the moon, for the spiritual benefit of his virtuous mother, and named it after her as Honnalapura. Another inscription dated A.D. 1379, Saka 1301 (Sidharti), says that when Harihara Raya was ruling in Hastinavati (Anagondi-Vijayanagar) in peace and wisdom, his son, Mahamandalaswara Chicka Raya Odeyar, was ruling in Araga, the city of the Malay Rajjiya (hilly country) and the 16 Kampanas, his great Minister, Vira Vasanta Madhava Raya, was in the city of Araga, the guardian of Roddha, probably made some special grants to Brahmins for their proficiency in the Vedas. The last portion is illegible.*

An inscription bearing date A. D. 1379 (Sidharti), declares, that King Harihara II. obtained the kingdom and the illustrious counsellor Mudda Dandadhipathi, from his famous father Bukka. The Minister Mudda, by his policy, bound down the hostile Kings, and was famous as

* Araga seems to have been the capital of Malay Rajjiya—hilly country. The Santara kings of Hombuche owned it as feudatories of the Chalukyas. In the 14th and 15th centuries, it compresed 8 cities and 18 Kampanas (districts) and gave its name to the kingdom of Araga, which was governed by a Prince of the royal family of Vijayanagar. After the fall of their power Keladi Chiefs held it, until they were ousted by the conquests of Hyder Ali. Gutti or Chandra Gutti or Chandra Kutupura, is a high peaked hill to the west of Sorab, and formerly strongly fortified. Tradition says that the hill was so high as to obscure Chundra, hence it was called Chundra Guptapura. The summit is about 3,000 feet high. In the earlier centuries, it was the stronghold of the Kadambas of Banavasi, and the town below was the residence of Trinetra Kadamba mentioned by the Europeans.

Sumantra, the Minister obtained by Rama from Dasaratha. Committing all the cares of his kingdom to his Minister, Harihara was at ease like Hari. Mudda established an Agrahara and called it Muddadanda Nayakapura, otherwise called Chikka Hadaka in the Ucchangi Sime, and gave it to Brahmins.

One Baichappa, apparently a Jain warrior, seems to have fought against Konkans under the orders of Madhava Raya, when Harihara Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in A. D. 1380, and after distinguishing himself greatly, died on the field. A Virakal is set up in his honor. Another inscription of the same year shows that Harihara was ruling the kingdom in peace. An inscription dated A.D. 1380 (Raudri), declares that while Maharajadhi Raja Hariappa Odeyar was in Vijayanagar ruling in peace, his Minister was Kampa Mantri, under whose orders Ballappa Mantri, son of Sangama Raja, who was governing Hadinad, made a grant of land for worship. An inscription dated A.D. 1381 (Durmati), records repairs by the great Minister Kampana, in the temple of Chennakeswara, at Belur, under the orders of Harihara Maharaya. Another very important copper-plate grant (Belur) dated Saka 1304 A.D. 1382 (Dundubhi), introduces us to a series of interesting facts, from which inferences, regarding the relations of the rulers and the ruled, the mercantile activity and their honesty, the state of the commercial and agricultural classes, the means of communication they used for the supply of royal and over-crowded cities, like Vijayanagar, the state of public feeling and the weight attached to it by the governing officers, the extent of the kingdom, and the unanimity among the public leaders of all classes and creeds, may be safely drawn. The absorbing interest of the subjects treated, justifies the devotion of a little more space for the details, given here. The public leaders of the Vijayanagar kingdom, declare in unmistakable terms, in this *sasana*, of their appreciation of the invaluable

services rendered to the country at large by the famous Minister Mudda Dannayaka. These leaders seem to include among them, all classes of men, merchants, traders, heroes, virtuous men, learned scholars, great men, truthful men, self-sacrificing individuals, polite gentry, men with great fame, men who administer justice, and those who establish paths of virtue, adventurers, descendants of great lunar families, and others distinguished in the various walks of life. The illustrious (says the grant) Bukka was born in the Soma Vamsa. Nala, Nahusha and other famous Kings ruled the earth, but none with such distinction and fame as Bukka. His great son was Harihara II. under him as the kingdom (became) invincible, he made large gifts and charities. His fame, obtained by his victories over Chola, Kerala and Pandya, was like a mirror for the face of the [illegible] the South. Although he made victorious ex[illegible] the clear days of autumn, to the lotus faces [illegible]vana women (Mahomedan ladies), their falling tears (by the death of their husbands and children) made the days always appear cloudy. He was called Kalpa Druma, by the people, because he gave charities to all alike. Here we see perfect religious toleration and open-handed charity to the deserving, without reference to caste or creed. Harihara II. inherited both the wealth of the extensive empire and also the illustrious Minister Mudda Dannayaka. This Minister put to shame by his policy, the great Yogandha Raya, Minister to Udayana Raja by acquiring hundreds of Ratnavalis.*

He seized many prosperous Kings and confined them by his valour. He granted many Agraharas to Brahmins. This Minister protected the various castes with the same love, as if they all were his own children. He established

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* *See* p. 50. Udayana perhaps may have been the King of Saharas, who was alleged to have been conquered by Pallava Mulla Nandi Varma. Saharas were probably Sauras, or Ghonds who were hardy warriors on the mountainous tracts of the Eastern Ghauts.

justice in his kingdom on a firm basis, and was ever ready to relieve the needy and succour the oppressed. Greatly rejoicing in his protection and the just and merciful way he governed his subjects, the farmers, merchants, and all important persons, resolved to pay him—the Minister—certain taxes on account of the privileges, he gave them, and the peace they enjoyed under his wise administration.

The names of towns enumerated here show the extent of the Empire of Vijayanagar, and also the antiquity and importance of many of them. We have here, Hastinavati-Vijayanagari, Dwarasamudra, Penugonde, Adavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Maluvayu, Kanchi, Padavidu, Chadurangapattana, Mangaluru, Barakuru, Honnavara, Chandavaru, Araga, Chundragutti, Annigeri, Nidugallu, Chinnatanakallu, Taraikallu, A[illegible] Sarikallaya, Telakalambi, Singapattana, etc. The [illegible] of all these and many others were conferred up[illegible]nister, and certain collections on merchandise of all kinds were given to him by way of showing gratitude. The details about the customs, and the different articles of trade, lead the readers to the conclusion, that the merchants had a sort of chamber of commerce or union at the capital cities, and their arrangements were sacredly respected by others in the mofussil stations. Carts, elephants, bullocks, and other beasts of burden are clearly mentioned, and the traffic must have been simply immense in spices, grains, piece-goods, food-stuffs, horses, cattle, agricultural produce, and manufactures of all varieties. In this connection it will be seen, that if the merchants had only shaky accounts or consciences, the enforcement of these resolutions, would have been almost impracticable. Most of the sums are mentioned in Visa, Haga, Adda, Mooppaga and Hana. Hana is a small gold coin probably with different values during those periods. Its value generally is from 4 to 5 annas now, and it must have been similar

in value then. The supervising agency, to control such small items, from thousands of mercantile transactions, would have simply found its work impossible, and the cost of its maintenance, would have been quite out of proportion to the sums, which they had to collect as dues on things bargained. The honesty of the merchants, seems to have gone down, in proportion to the elaboration of the rules of evidence, and the loopholes afforded them to rush to ruinous litigation, and defeat their creditors.*

Even the greatest Ministers of the age, had to respect the public opinion, and were honored or treated with contempt according to what they deserved. King Harihara II. must have been highly flattered by the good administration inaugurated under able Ministers like Mudda Dannayaka, and allowed the people to freely express their loyalty and gratefulness by the cession of certain taxes on articles of consumption. This copper-plate grant therefore greatly helps the readers of the history of Harihara II. to realise the facts that his kingdom was peaceful, his subjects were intelligent, appreciative, grateful and loyal, and that his empire extended over almost the whole of Southern India and portions of the Deccan. †

* "Viesa" means one-sixteenth of a Hana; "Haga" is one-fourth, "Adda" is half, "Mooppaga" is three fourths of a Hana. About twelve Hanas make a Varaha or "paroda" of Nuniz. This generally varies from three to four rupees in different countries. It is also called "Hon." Muluvayu is Mulbagal in Mysore. Madhava Raya probably was the famous Madhava Mantri. This inscription says that the Mahomedans were defeated by Harihara, and that Mudda Dandadhipathi was also a great warrior. It is instructive to note, that public opinion had great weight even among the most despotic forms of government and officers were often made to feel it by the acts of the public.

† Mr. Rice seems to give a wrong date in his translation. I have seen the original and it gives S. 1183 (Dundubhi) or A.D. 1261. This is a peculiar *sasana*, and probably refers to some early King in Vijayanagar as the name of that city is given in the original. The King is called Vijaya Bhupathi, who is likened to Harihara. Dundubhi quite agrees with the Saka given in the original, and the title of the King is not in the ordinary style fixed by the *sasana* writers on the Kings of Vijayanagar. Surwa

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An inscription under date A.D. 1382, says that Vijaya named Harihara, made a grant of Sankaripura to two Brahmins for recitation of vedas in the temple of Hariharaswara.

Another inscription dated A.D. 1383 (Dundubhi), records some grant to Mudda Dannayaka, but is considerably defaced. This says clearly that Bukka's son, Harihara, was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom. An inscription dated S. 1307 (Ruktakshi), A.D. 1385 states, that during Vira Bukka Raya's son Harihara Raya's increasing reign, when he was ruling a secure kingdom in peace and wisdom, his great house Minister, Madhava Mantri, granted the Ambali Kodagi land to Dasamarsa.*

A copper-plate grant dated S. 1308 (Krodhana) or A.D. 1386, states, that Harihara granted the village of Ghattada halli in the Seganad of the Hoysala kingdom and named it Sarvagna Harihara Maharayapuram. A *sasana* under date S. 1309 (Prabhava), A.D. 1387 declares that when King Harihara was ruling the whole earth, Muddapa being his Minister, the lord Malagarsa, of the famous "Kashmiri Vamsa," had the broken kalasa on the Gopura of Kesava, in Beluru, restored with gold.

An inscription dated A.D. 1388 states, that when Harihara Maharaya was established in Vira Vijayanagari, the elders of Senagana, bowed down to the virtues of Yati Muni Bhadra Deva, who, seeing his end approaching, severed himself from the external attachments and obtained *siddhi*. There is another *sasana* of the same date, which declares that when Harihara Raya was ruling the world, some merchants made a division of lands in Arahanahalli.

Raja Rakshaka, and Dharmamurti Harihara Raya Maharayaru are not found in the inscriptions ascribed to Vijayanagar Princes. *See* E.C., Vol. XI., pp. 63, 146.

* This is Madhava, the son of Chaunda and disciple of Kasivilas Kriyasakti. He must not be mistaken for the sage Madhavacharya, who occupied far higher status as family priest and Jagadguru of the Sringeri *Matt*.

In A.D. 1390 a *sasana* records, that when the glory of the Bukka family, Harihara was ruling the kingdom, and his great Minister, Mallappa Odeyar, was ruling in Araga, Nelvagi Thippa Naika granted land to god Maylara. A *sasana* dated S. 1312 (Pramoduta), A.D. 1390 says, that when Vira Harihara Raya ruled in Vijayanagari in order that merit may accrue to this King, a great number of gowdas and others made a grant of a village (Hankaranagunti) to the services of god Ramaswara. This is important as showing the popularity of this King Harihara II., and the disinterested way in which the lower classes showed their appreciation of the royal virtues by making grants of lands to temples, so that prosperity may increase to their popular and sympathetic sovereigns.

A *sasana* dated A.D. 1391 during the reign of Harihara states, that some part of the customs in Yedatore, was set up for the use of god Ankanatha, by the customs' officer Karya Mayana.

An Inscription dated A.D. 1392 states, that when Harihara Raya was ruling, one Raya, son of Baichnaikar, went to *Swarga* and his wife performed *Sahagamana* (sati). In A.D. 1393 (Srimukha), when Bukka Raya's son was in Vijayanagar, ruling the empire with undisturbed magnificence, a grant was made to a learned Brahmin.

A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1393 states, that when Harihara Maharaya was ruling on the throne of Vidyanagara, protecting in righteousness the duties of all castes, by Harihara's order, Sabanna Odeyar ruled the Araga kingdom, a grant of land was made free of all imposts, to Ramachandra Saraswathi Odeyar.

An inscription under date A.D. 1394, records that when Vira Bukka Raya's son, Vira Harihara Raya, was ruling a secure kingdom, and under his order, Sommana Odeyar was ruling the Araga kingdom, a grant was made

The inscription is much defaced. The "Vimana" of the Kamakshi temple at Conjeevaram was built by Harihara II. in A.D. 1393, according to an inscription found there. A Chilamakuru inscription dated S. 1305 (A.D. 1383) declares, that the shrine there was endowed by Harihara II. of Vijayanagar. A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1394 states, that in the Yadu's line rose Sangama, whose sons were five, of whom Bukka the middle one was the most illustrious. His eldest son was King Harihara II. who was in the celebrated royal city, Vijayanagar, and the streams issued from him, in making the 16 great gifts, nourished the tree of Dharma. At the time of the moon's eclipse, at the junction of Haridra with Thungabhadra, where myriads of "thirthas" unite, Harihara Maharaya made a grant of two villages to a Brahmin named Narsimbhatta, one for his astrological abilities and another for writing this *sasana.**

* Haridra is a small stream, otherwise called "ana halla," or elephant stream, which brings the waste water of the Soolaykeri, in Channagiri Taluq. The tradition is that when the stream is full it carries away even elephants. This tank is the finest in Southern India and has a circumference of about 40 miles. "Sule" in Kannada means a dancing-girl, and "Kere" means a tank. It is alleged to have been built by a King's daughter called Santava, and when the water was stored, the capital of her father Vikrama Raja, called Svargavati, was submerged and the King cursed her by calling her a "Sule" or prostitute. The work is a very fine one, and the tank receives the drainage of about 20 square miles all of which force into a gorge, where it is built. The defile between the adjacent hills being narrow, the length of the embankment is very small, but it is of stupendous width, height and strength, and slightly curved. It has resisted successfully the floods of eight or nine centuries as the period of its construction is given in the 11th century. The area of the land under this immense tank is reputed to be more than 20,000 acres, and was covered by a dense jungle; so that the huge quantity of water supplied by this magnificent reservoir flowed uselessly away into the river Thungabhadra under the name of Haridrawathi. In spite of the tremendous force of water in the tank, the embankment has remained for nearly 10 centuries uninjured and this shows the splendid engineering skill of the ancients, and the careful mathematical calculations they made about the strength of the materials used and the pressure of the stream during the heaviest of floods.

Mention is made of Gundappa Dannayaka, house Minister of Harihara Maharaya, as granting bell-metal lamps in A.D. 1395 probably to some god in Vijayanagar. From this and other inscriptions, it seems to be clear, that Harihara's reign from A.D. 1377 to A.D. 1404, of 28 years, seems to have been undisturbed, and peaceful. Any engagements, therefore, which he was alleged to have fought with the Mahomedans must have been of a minor character, or were more or less advantageous to the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Araga appears to have been an important province, and it was apparently ruled by those in whom the King had the greatest confidence. Most of these Ministers who served under Vijayanagar Princes were also Dannayakas or Danda Nayakas, commanders of armies. When duty required, they went to fight in the field, and were obviously Generals of approved military capacity and courage. But many of them also seem to have been successful statesmen and rulers. The palace establishment, must have been a huge collection of guards, horsemen, clerks, servants, artisans, priests and purohits, cooks and water-bearers, trainers of elephants and horses, wrestlers and gymnasts, male and female attendants, accountants, news-bearers, storekeepers, carriers, doctors and literary men, dancing and singing women, and all such busy bodies, who were attached to the palace to pander to the tastes and comforts of the royal members and who were attracted to these courts by the splendours of their establishments and the opportunities they afforded for employment and rapid rise.

An inscription dated A.D. 1396 (Dhatu), declares a gift of land, during the time of Harihara Maharaya, by all the Nad people to Mayannah's son, Virupanna. Under the same date we have another inscription which states that, when Harihara Maharaya's kingdom was extending on all sides in peace and prosperity,—to the lady, the sea-zoned

earth, like curls,—shone the country of Kuntala, to which, like the face was the Banavasinad, an ornament on which, admired by the people in the world, was Bandanike, handsome as Amaroavaty—the capital of Indra—when Bachapa Odeyar was on the throne of Sove, and a grant of customs was made for temple repairs.*

A significant fact from this *sasana* is the clear statement that Bachapa was seated on a "throne" at Sove. The Governors or Viceroys under the Vijayanagar Princes, in important provinces, seem to have had their own "thrones," on which they sat and carried on the work of administration, similar to their suzerain lords, and subject to their general control.

A copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1396 (Dhatu), states, that Harihara Maharaya, made a grant of an Agrahar giving it the name of Hariharapura, formed into 13 shares, in the presence of Virupaksha on the banks of the Thungabhadra, to Brahmins of Kadalur, near Hasana, in Sigenadu, on the occasion of the moon's eclipse.

Another inscription dated A.D. 1397 declares grant of some land when Vira Pratapa Harihara Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in peace. An important inscription dated A.D. 1397 (Iswara), says that in the extreme south of Jambu Dwipa is the glorious temple of god Kesava, he

* The original contains S. 1310, but gives the cyclic year Dhatu very distinctly, and Mr. Rice has put 1396? in doubt. He is perhaps right as the original may contain a worn out Kannada figure eight which looks like a cipher. Saka 1258 is Dhatu, and so also Saka 1318 must be the cyclic year Dhatu.

Bandanike is now a ruined village in the north of Shikarpur. It was the capital of the Nagarkhanda. This was once ruled by the wise Chandra Gupta, so declares an inscription. This contains many ruined temples of large dimensions and wonderful sculpture. Mr. Rice says that there are more than 30 important inscriptions ranging from Saka 834 to Saka 1369, containing records of Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Kalachuryas, Hoysalas, Yadavas and Vijayanagar Kings. Probably it was a handsome city at the period of this inscription.

It is difficult to identify Sove now.

whom the Saivas adore as Siva, the Vedantis as Brahma, the Buddhas as Buddha, the Naiyyayekas—skilled in argument—as Kartha (creator), the Jains as Arha, the Mimamsikas as Karma, that god Kesava ever grant our desires. The Kesava of Velapuri (Belur), gives sight to the blind, raises the poor to royalty, causes the lame to walk fast, makes the dumb eloquent, the barren to be blessed with children, the grantor of all desires alike to the dwellers in the land, and also those who come from other countries.

In the three worlds, which were called into existence, from an incomprehensible essence, and indescribable which are pervaded, with original illusions, did Brahma create many distinguished families of Kings, among whom was Sangama with his line to remove the defects in the world. The union of Sangama with Sarada produced five sons. The first was Harihara and the third was his illustrious brother Bukka. Harihara II. was born of Bukka. When Sri Vira Vijaya Harihara Maharaya, was in the residence of the new royal city of Vijayanagar, close to the Pampasarowar, ruling his extensive empire in wisdom and peace, devoted to his feet, distinguished for counsels, which attract the goddess of victory from other Kings, was his famous Commander-in-Chief Vijaya Gunda Dandanatha. Into the flames of his valour, the Yavana, Turuka and Andhra Kings fell like moths. Anga lost his limbs, Kalinga fell senseless, Ghurjaras got fever, Panchalas were almost dead, the powerful Syndhava fell into the ocean, Andhras got blind, Cholas were caught in the nets of the skirmishers, when Gunda Dandanatha, thought of war. Anga broke in battle, Kalinga bolted from the field, Andhras ran to mountain caves, Ghurjaras gave up loud speaking, Konkana and Kataka drove into the corner, Cholas hid their heads in the hills, when Gunda Dandadhipathi became the head of all the troops. He conquered

Keralas, Tuluvas, Andhras and Katakas and seized their wealth and gave it to his King. Dragging the elephant like Saipu, Patheya, and other proud Turukas along by their hair in the field of battle, Gunda had the power to confine them in his stables like so many apes, and besides them, seized by the throat the two great tigers known as Jaista and Kanista. He was to Harihara Maharaya as Maruthi was the devoted and faithful servant to Rama.

The victorious Gunda Dandanatha set up "Satakumbhalankruta Jayasthambhas" (pillars of victory coated with gold) in the interior of the countries, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Katora, Kambhoja, Simhana, Tuluva, Magadha, Malana, Kerala, Oddya, Jina, Jonega, Arimana, Konkana, Chera, Chola, Pandya, Vidarbha, Sourastra, Kuru. Maru, Pancha, Panchala, Magavayya, Telanga, Parasika, Pariyatra, Koihana, Kashmira, Barbara, Bhotta, Maha Bhotta, Kaka, Muka, Ekapada, Bhodamukha, and Kendu. Gunda Dandadhipathi, under the orders of Harihara Maharaya, restored the grants, which Vishnu Vardhana Bitti Deva Raya, the famous ruler of the Hoysana country had made for the god Chenna Kesava, and which, by lapse of time had been greatly reduced. He also rebuilt with seven storeys the Gopura over the doorway, which Ganga Salar, the Turuka of Kuluburgi had come and burnt and set up on its summit a golden kalasa.*

*This inscription gives particulars which have more than a passing interest. The god Kesava of Belur, an influential suburb of Dwarasamudra (Halebedu) under the Hoysala Ballalas, seems to have been adored by all sects with the same zeal as is evidenced by this truly philosophic *sasana*. It establishes the fact that Chennakasava was greatly venerated by all sectarians for the supposed succour which he gave to the distressed. The three worlds are (1) Swarga (higher state of existence), (2) Martya (the earth inhabited by mortals), and (3) the Patala (the nether world inhabited by serpents, etc.). The identity of Vijayanagar is established by this *sasana* by its position as being near to the Pampasarovar. It strengthens the statement made in the early part of this history, to the effect that Vijayanagar

An inscription under date A.D. 1397 (Iswara), says that Narayana Deva Odeyar, son of Mallapa, brother of the ruling monarch Harihara II., came to the junction of Kaveri and Kapila, and then made a grant of one Agrahara, named Pratapa Harihara Pura, in the Chennapatna Nad, to Brahmins for the long-life, health and prosperity of his uncle Harihara Maharaya.*

Harihara II. gave Hemmuge to Varada Bhatta and re-named it as Harihara Rajandra Pura, situated on the bank of the Kaveri in the Hoysana country. This is dated A.D. 1397 (Iswara). In the same year when Harihara Maharaya was ruling the kingdom, the Nad people gave a village to Sarvagna Puri Sripada.

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and Anagondi, were parts of Kishkindha, the ancient capital of Vali. Gunda Dandadhipathi appears to have been the Commander-in-Chief after Mallinatha.

He was also stated to have been the palace minister under Harihara II. From this inscription it seems as if Gunda Dandadhipathi had conquered many Turuka Generals, and confined some of them in his stables as if they had been so many monkeys. The establishment of pillars of victory in the countries named above calls for a few remarks. The *sasanas*, although couched in hyperbolic language, have been generally found to bear some important facts about them, and the mention of Turuka leaders called Saipa, Patheya, Gurga Salar, etc., leads to the belief that Gunda must have been successful in his engagements against the Mussalmans and to have succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, along with some Generals of the hostile armies. Pillars of victory cannot be established in unconquered countries, and in the provinces of powerful hostile Princes.

If the inscription is correct, the countries conquered by the Commander-in-Chief of Vijayanagar forces, must have been annexed to Vijayanagar or must have owned their nominal supremacy. As in Asoka's time, so also during the time of Bukka I. and Harihara II. pillars of victory were set up on a large scale, mostly in their own territories and some in those of friendly sovereigns, who could not take any objection for fear of offending rising and mighty Princes.

* The Kaveri and Kapila join at Tirumakodlu Narsipur, in Mysore, and this is considered a very sacred place.

This proves that not only the sons of Sangama, but even his grandsons and great grandsons had much affection to their brothers, uncles and cousins, a significant fact to be noted in connection with the undisturbed phenomenal growth of this mighty empire.

An inscription dated A.D. 1399 declares that, when Harihara was ruling the kingdom, Chendagowndi became a sanyasi and obtained *swarga.**

A *sasana* dated A.D. 1399, declares that the Rayasetties, with a view to increase the prosperity and extent of Harihara Maharaya's kingdom made a grant of money realised by oil-mill taxes, to provide oil for the Nanda Deepa of Chenna Kesava †

A grant of land is recorded in the year A.D. 1400 (Vikrama), during the reign of Harihara on the occasion of one Chenna Mallappa obtaining *swarga.*

An inscription dated S. 1325 (Swabhanu) A.D. 1403, states that all the Nayaka Vadies of Alur made a grant during the reign of Harihara Maharaya, for the support of the dancing-girls in the temple of Desinatha.

Another inscription of the same date declares that when Harihara Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom in Vijayanagar, under his orders, Vittana Odeyar, son of a Brahmin Minister by Virupambika, and a disciple of Kriyasakti Guru, was ruling the Araga kingdom, all the cultivators of the 18 Kampanas, made a grant of six villages to Vittana Odeyar. ‡

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* A female sanyasi is a rarity. But now and then we hear of "Yoginis," or women, who practice Yoga or deep concentration of mind. Among Brahmins females never can become sanyasinis. But among the Sudras if a woman earns Gnana or practices Yoga, her Guru will examine her, and allow her to use ashes and 'kavi' clothes. These are called sanyasinis.

† It is considered as a very meritorious act to keep a perpetual lamp (Nanda Deepa) in the important temples before gods. This shows that Harihara was extremely popular, and many people prayed for his long-life and prosperity on their own account.

‡ His father is here distinctly stated to be Hemadri, and the latter is described as a chief Brahmin minister. From the words Kriyasakti, etc., it looks as if Hemadri was some disciple of the Guru who gave directions to Madhava Mantri of the Angerasa Gotra. Vittana Odeyar is called Brahma Kshetri, and as belonging to Bharadwaja Gotra. Probably these were descendants of Sankappa, and Rayappa, famous Mantries under some old sovereigns, and may have belonged to the Saraswatha Kashmir Brahmins

A valuable inscription dated S. 1325 (Swabhanu) A.D. 1403 states, that the villages acquired by Vittana Odeyar from the cultivators of the 18 Kampanas, was given away to Brahmins.

This document throws considerable light on the culture of Harihara II. It says that "Harihara's wonderful character which filled the earth with the fragrance of the charities made by his hands, dyed as it were, with sandal and red lead, from unmeasured merit, being sung by the women at all the points of the compass. Harihara was distinguished for his proficiency in the science of music and poetry, which was approved by all the learned, and for his devotion to his father. The father of Vittana was named also Bommana, and the village was named after his father as Bommanapura.

An inscription dated A. D. 1404 states that, under the orders of Harihara II. who was ruling in Vijayanagar, and protecting the Varnashrama Dharmas, Rayappa Odeyar's son, Virappa Odeyar, was protecting the Araga kingdom, a grant was made by the Nads of 18 Kampanas, to god Kalinatha of the Moolasthana of Araga. This is dated Poornima of Phalguna of Swabhanu, and therefore roughly corresponds with the middle of March A.D. 1404. So far we have seen that Harihara II. was living, and under his direct orders were Odeyars ruling in Araga and other provinces.*

* From the large number of inscriptions examined, it is seen that Araga was one of the most important provinces under the early Vijayanagar Princes. Formerly, Araga seems to have been the capital of the Malaya Rajjiya (hill country), and it comprised three royal cities and 18 Kampanas. The particular mention of the three cities, seems to suggest the idea that while there was a chief governor, who sat on the "throne in Araga" the other two cities must have been the capitals or headquarters of the divisional rulers. This presumption is considerably strengthened, by the mention of two or more persons, as ruling in Araga, and making grants or receiving gifts from the cultivators of the Kampanas. A "Kampana" means probably a district or division then headed by a commander, under the control of the Chief in Araga.

We now come to the most important inscription, which gives the date of the death of Harihara II. and particulars connected with the grant of Mukti Hariharapura, for the spiritual benefit of Harihara Maharaya by his devoted Minister, Vittana Odeyar, who was apparently still ruling in the kingdom of Araga, and who made these grants on the 15th day after the death of that fortunate sovereign.

The *sasana* is dated Ekadasi of the bright half of Aswija in the year Tarana, and clearly records the date of the death of Harihara II. I have read the original and it runs thus: "Tarana Varsha, Varsha Masa Nabhasiaka-dasinda Shubhavara; Nirvanam Prapa Harihara Desisaha." The Saka year is 1326. It is clear, therefore, that it was the 11th day of the month of Bhadrapada in the rainy season, in the year Tarana Saka 1326. This probably corresponds with September A. D. 1404. There are no more inscriptions, which have been discovered as yet, which relate to Harihara's rule after this year. And in the absence of any strong evidence to the contrary, this document must be considered to have established the death of this fortunate sovereign in early September A. D. 1404.*

* Mr. Rice in "Ep. C.," Vol. VIII., Pt. II., pp. 188, 338 and 589, apparently contradicts himself, and in his Introduction makes no note of this important historical fact.

In his transliteration, the passage referring to Harihara's death is given thus by Mr. Rice:—"Taranay Varshay, Varshay Masi Nabhasya Thithau Dasamyancha Vara Soura Pitrabhay Nirvanam Prapa Harihara Dhisa." This differs from the original both in the lunar day and the week day. Again, in his translation, he observes:—"In the year Tharana, in the rainy season, in the month of Nabhasya (Bhadrapada) the tenth thithi on Sunday (31st August A.D. 1404) under the constellation Pitrae (Magha) the great King Harihara obtained *nirvana* (or died)." The original distinctly says Ekadasi, and Monday. The transliteration is made to state, that it is Dasami and Soura Vara or Saturday, and the translation records the week day as Sunday. This is a great puzzle which Mr. Rice would do well to clear, for the benefit of his readers. As regards his calculation of the 31st August A.D. 1404, if this is correct for his transliteration, then it will be 2nd September A.D. 1404 Monday, that must be ascribed to Harihara's death. "Mukti" in Sanskrit means "salvation" or "final emancipation"; and "Mukti Hariharapura" means "that by this charity, it was understood that the King Harihara would attain to salvation."

A few observations may be offered here on the character and general administration of this great and fortunate monarch. When he ascended the throne, Harihara II. seems to have been a middle-aged man. He inherited a kingdom, which had recently been started by his illustrious uncle Harihara I. and extended and greatly consolidated by his famous father Bukka Raya I. under the able guidance of Vidyaranya. The able Ministers who were left to help Harihara II. by his great father, were no less instrumental, in extending his territories, and bringing them to great prosperity than the well furnished treasury, the efficient army, and the consolidated empire which he inherited from his father. He seems to have been a man of great culture, refinement, and generous instincts, and his charities were conferred on all classes of his subjects without any race prejudices. He appears to have been specially skilled in literature and music. He succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar, when it was involved in a furious war with the Mussalmans of Gulburga; and seems to have been successful in its conclusion with great advantages on his side. His administration, which lasted for about 28 years, was able, successful, and marked by continuous progress and prosperity. The *sasanas* often refer to him as the great sovereign, from whom flowed, all through his extensive territories, the 16 great gifts which nourished the stem of Dharma, and made it look fresh and charming. The most distinguished of his Ministers and Generals were Madhava Mantri, Gunda Dandadhipathi, Mudda Dandadhipathi and Vittana Odeyar. That Harihara II. was extremely popular and beloved by his subjects, as well as his able Ministers, is proved by the large number of inscriptions which record private grants and charities by his subjects for the benefit, and long life of their illustrious sovereign. Undisturbed by foreign invasions, and undistracted by internal insurrections, the reign of Harihara II. appears to have been

one of continued peace and progress. Harihara II. seems to have had three sons: Bukka II. or Deva Raya I., Virupaksha Raya, and Chikka Raya. The latter ruled in Araga. By the end of his reign, the empire of Vijayanagar had extended itself into the western and eastern oceans, and probably the whole of Southern India with portions of south-west Deccan, had become either parts of that empire or acknowledged its supremacy. Gunda Dandadhipathi claims victories over many countries and declares that he erected "pillars of victory" in all those provinces. Divesting these *sasanas* of their hyperbolic language, it may be reasonable to infer that his conquests extended over a greater area of country than before, and he might naturally have built pillars of victory in many of those regions, which he conquered completely or brought under his nominal supremacy. From the facts already adduced in this Chapter, it may be presumed, that from being a small Hindu principality, Vijayanagar had grown up into a mighty empire. The humbler titles of Odeyar and Maha Mandaleswar, had disappeared from the inscriptions, and the imperial titles of Maharajadhi Raja, Raja Paramaswara, etc., had been naturally assumed, with the phenomenal growth which had marked its career in the course of 20 or 30 years after its foundation. Harihara appears to have been the greatest and most fortunate Hindu King of his age.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Madhavacharya or Vidyaranya.

Before quitting this part of our history, it seems desirable to make some observations upon those characters, who played no inconsiderable parts, in the history of Vijayanagar during the early years of its growth. Mention is made of many great Ministers, such as Madhavacharya

The direct successor on the Pontifical Throne of Sage Vidyaranya, the founder of the grand Vijayanagar Empire.

His Holiness SACHIDANANDA SIVABHI NAVA NRISIMHA BHARATI SWAMI JAGADGURU SRINGERI.

(Vidyaranya), Basavayya Dannayaka, Mallappa Odeyar, Madhava Mantri, Sayana Mantri, Kampa Mantri, Gunda Dandadhipathi, Ballappa, Bachappa and Mallinatha. But the most prominent figure of those times was Madhava-Vidyaranya who, as was previously seen, laid the foundation of the capital, and established firmly the famous Sangama Dynasty upon its throne. Forgetting for a moment the traditions which ascribe the foundation, of the city, to miraculous circumstances, it seems to be more consistent with the origin, rise and antecedents of the Vijayanagar rulers, to declare that the predecessors, of Harihara, had already acquired domination and influence in the country round about Vijayanagar, and that they were able to pitch upon a most convenient centre, for their capital, on the deliberate advice, and substantial pecuniary help of their family Guru and counsellor Madhavacharya—afterwards called Vidyaranya Swami or Muni. The city which had been founded, by this remarkable Brahmin sage, as regards its situation, was one of the most remarkable and picturesque in India. An irregular plain on the right bank of the Thungabhadra, near the sacred precincts of the ancient Kishkindha, so famous in the Ramayana, was sufficient but no more for its *enciente*. On the east and west it was bounded by rocky granite hills through which were a few rugged passes. On the south may be seen the spurs of the lofty Ramandrug hills descending into it. On the north, in addition to the hills, of considerable elevation, was the river Thungabhadra in a line of extremely deep pools, and dangerous rapids, which formed an almost impassable boundary. Immediately beyond and rising out of the bed of the river, a range of still more rugged and impassable granite hills, with only one or two difficult outlets, formed an outerline of fortifications as it were, of great natural strength, and when the passes and the hills had been strongly fortified by bastions and curtains, the whole place was rendered almost

impregnable. The *enciente* of the city proper,--excluding its important suburb of Anagondi with its strong lines of fortifications—enclosed an area of about 30 square miles, and the ruins which everywhere fill it now attest at once to the vast amount of population the royal city must have contained, while the temples, monasteries, receiving houses for the pilgrims of Kishkindha, palaces and stables, are some of the grandest to be seen in the whole of India. Many of them are still in a good state of preservation, and speak eloquently for the great skill and ability of the hands which raised them into existence. Whether, therefore, from the sequestered situation of this magnificent city, the wild and strange beauty of the Thungabhadra river scenery, the temples and ruins of palaces and pavilions, or its peculiar historical and literary interest, there are few places in India, more worthy of the attention of the traveller, than Vijayanagar—the grand capital of the empire of that name. The credit of reviving a magnificent city in a most lovely, yet impregnable locality, with wild picturesque surroundings, belongs entirely to the master-mind of Vidyaranya, and the Mahomedans, their fiercest and bitterest enemies were never able to capture it, although they very often tried to do so. The mention of the word "Kula Guru" (family priest) in some of the philosophical works of Vidyaranya, induces his readers to infer, that there had been a hereditary attachment between the royal family of Sangama, and that of the priestly family of Sayana Madhava, probably for many generations previous to the founding of Vidyanagari in A.D. 1336, and that their mutual attachment culminated in the establishment of the greatest Hindu empire during the modern times. It seems to be more a rule than an exception, that Brahmin advisers had been, from time immemorial, appointed under the Hindu Princes, not only to the highest ministerial functions, but also to the superintendence of their spiritual concerns. Looking back at the earliest

records of the Indian history, it is seen that sage Vasista was the adviser and Kula Guru to Sri Rama. Brahmins Dronacharya and Krupacharya taught the Pandus and Kurus in all the military arts, and were generals on the field unrivalled in courage and military capacity. Dhaumya acted the part of a Minister and priest to the Pandava Princes. Brihaspathi has been declared to be the chief counsellor and priest of the Devatas, with Indra as their chief ruler. Amatya Rakshasa was Minister to Sarwartha Siddhi, Nava Nandas, and later on, after their destruction, to Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan Dynasty of Princes on the throne of Magadha. Chanikya was a Brahmin sage of extraordinary abilities, and succeeded in establishing the Mauryan Dynasty. Yogandhara was Minister to Udayana. Later on we find that Yugandhara was a Brahmin Minister of distinguished abilities, under the powerful Kakateya Princes of Warangal. It has been seen that the early history of Vidyanagar is most intimately connected with the history of Vidyaranya. After this famous sage, we find "Mantri Appaji," a Brahmin Minister of extraordinary political training, under whose wise and farsighted counsels, the empire of Vijayanagar seems to have attained to its highest power and prosperity. He appears to have played the most prominent part in the political drama of Vijayanagar during the three successive reigns of Narasimha Raya, the founder of the second dynasty of Kings on the throne of Vijayanagar, his famous son Vira Narasimha Deva Raya, and his second son the illustrious Krishna Deva Raya. In fact, if the records are carefully perused, Appaji, who was called Saluva Thimma, was respected by Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest and most powerful of the Vijayanagar rulers, to that extent, that he was called "Appaji" or the revered father by the monarch. "Appa" in Kannada means father; and "ji" gives it profound respect. During the more recent periods Brahmin Ministers have been greatly instrumental in

making the fortunes and names of many of the Native States in India.*

It appears that Madhavacharya worked with great zeal and tact in consolidating the power of the Sangama Dynasty, before he established them on the throne of Vijayanagar and when he saw that the results of his farsighted policy were eminently successful, he seems to have selected competent Ministers and continued to give them general directions as to how they should successfully carry out, the various wise measures, which his master-mind had conceived and put into execution. Stone and copper-plate inscriptions amply support the statement that Vidyaranya was directly instrumental in raising the new State into great prominence, and selecting the most capable men for responsible positions, on whose honest and energetic work, depended the entire future prosperity of the newly-founded kingdom. An inscription dated A.D. 1376, in the reign of Bukka, describes how Bukka with the help of Vidyathirtha Muni, became very great and famous throughout the world. Harihara I. and his four brothers testified their gratitude by making a grant of nine villages to Bharati Thirtha Sripada and his disciples.†

Various other grants seem also to have been made under the orders of Vidyaranya. Of the personal work and life of the great sage himself, after he mounted the pontifical throne of Sringeri, we have unfortunately very few details which we can accept as authentic for historical purposes. References, however, made here and there in the inscriptions, speak of Vidyaranya with the greatest veneration, and the sage appears to have continued to be the guardian angel of the empire for over half-a-century, and to have steered its course through the political storms which raged furiously all round this newly-established kingdom,

* *See* Appendix.

† *See* No. 44 Yedatore, " Ep. C.", also No. 1 of Sringeri—Rice.

without any serious political wreck. The great bulk of his monumental works, Vidyaranya appears to have composed before he assumed the "Sanyasa Ashrama" in A. D. 1331. His younger brother Sayana, was Minister to Sangama II. and also to Harihara II. From what has been gathered from every available source Vidyaranya does not seem to have taken any active or direct part in the routine work of the Vijayanagar affairs. There seem to be great misapprehensions even among the learned pundits, as to the identity of the sage Madhavacharya with his namesake Madhava Mantri (also a learned Brahmin), who flourished under the early rulers of Vijayanagar, as one of their foremost Ministers. The following facts are offered to the reading public, with a view to clear these uncertainties and throw fresh light on what have been hitherto erroneously accepted—through want of proper and critical study—as so many facts :—

1. In his commentary of "Parasara Smrithi" and other works, Vidyaranya speaks of himself as a Brahmin of the Bharadwajasa Gotra, his father being Mayana, and his mother Srimati.

But the Minister Madhava was the son of Chaunda, of the Angirasa Gotra, and he was also called Madarsa.*

2. It seems to be a cardinal rule of the ordinance of "Yathyashrama" that the person loses his parentage the moment he is consecrated into the holy order of sanyasis. There is a "civil death" as it were, in the life of the person who becomes a sanyasi, entailing on him, not only alienation from all blood-relationship, but also forfeiture of all rights and liabilities to property relating to his "Poorvashrama" or previous state of existence. Strictly speaking, he is prohibited from associating with his relations, living in the same house, or even mentioning them by name or relationship. The father who receives

* *See* No. 281 Shikarpur, A.D. 1368; "Ep. C.,"—Rice.

the highest adoration from his sons in a Hindu family, so much so, that he is placed next to God in point of respect, becomes the chela or disciple of his son, as soon as the latter mounts the pontifical throne, and has to fall on his son's feet by way of showing his respect.*

The Guru who initiates him into the Holy Orders will, thenceforward, be his spiritual father and gives him a new denomination unconnected with family names. Under these circumstances, which hold good, even to the very letter to this day in India, it would be unreasonable and against all usage, to suppose that Vidyaranya could be called by the name of Madhava subsequent to A. D. 1331, the year of his consecration. Therefore, it will be safer to assume, that all those events, which are connected with the name of Madhava, after A. D. 1331, are events, which were transacted by Madhava Mantri, son of Chaunda, or some other person who bore that name, but not the sage Madhavacharya. We shall illustrate, what we mean, by an examination of few inscriptions of those times. The earliest inscription which relates to the foundation of the city of Vidyanagara is dated A. D. 1336, and he styles himself there as "Nirmamendra" or prince of ascetics, but not by his former name of Madhavacharya. He is similarly addressed in a copper-plate grant in Sringeri, which gives to certain Brahmins, preference to "Agra Tambula" (giving of betel leaves and nuts first by way of respect) who had helped him in his Upanishad Bashyas. The next inscription dated A. D. 1346 of Sringeri, where with the invocation of Vidya Thirtha Guru, Harihara I. made a grant of nine villages to Bharata Thirtha Sripada and his disciples, shows how Bhoganatha lost his former name and assumed the spiritual title. It is a fact familiar to every cultured Hindu that one who passes into the superior order of an "ascetic," not only separates himself from all

*" Matru Devo Bhava, Pitru Devo Bhava." Upanishads.

temporal ties and carnal affections, which had chained him to his kith and kin in his "Poorvashrama," but also rises superior to the "Grihasta" who conforms to the lower rites and ceremonies of worship enjoined by the ordinary "Karma Kanda." The sanyasi continues, no doubt, to worship, but his meditations no longer dwell upon any aspirations, which relate to temporal matters. His conception of the Almighty, partakes the essence of all worship, which is enjoined upon the Gnanies (sages) by the "Upanishads." It would be inconsistent with the position and learning of Vidyaranya as Jagadguru to enter into any temporal worship, to take vows in conformity with Saiva or Vaishna Agamas, and to perform ceremonies with the declared object of removing troubles and dangers from his temporal kingdom and gain worldly advantages.*

3. In all works universally acknowledged to be from the immortal pen of Vidyaranya we read in them only the Stuti (invocation or praise) of Vidya Thirtha—his immediate guru and that of the great sage Sankaracharya; but nowhere does he invoke the blessings of a temporal guru like Kasivilas Kriyasakti.

4. No yati,—not to speak of the great sage Vidyaranya—could be guilty of performing, "Lingarchana," under the sectarian "upadasas" of temporal gurus, nor could he be ever described as dwelling at the lotus feet of his king or serving under regal power for the attainment of temporal advantages.

5. The custom in India, sanctioned by the Vedas, and Dharmasastras, requires, kings—however mighty and powerful they may be—to go and fall on the lotus feet of their Kula Gurus, or Matadhipathies.

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* Agra Tambula—it is customary among the Hindus to present betel leaves and nuts by way of respect to the highest man first, in a social or religious gathering, as also of presenting flowers. This is considered as a special honour and can only be conferred on the most deserving.

Upadesi—literally means one who instructs by taking the man nearer to the object of his worship and showing him the celestial Light. Hence

Madhavacharya seems to have worked only for a short time in giving thoughtful instructions for the regulation of the political work of the newly-founded kingdom, and then to have withdrawn to his more important work of contemplation upon God, and imparting spiritual instructions to his numerous disciples, and explaining the intricate paths of the highly developed and abstruse system of the Hindu Adwaitha Philosophy. An inscription dated A. D. 1368 clearly states the position, and the creed of Madhava Mantri above referred to, as distinguished from the sage Madhavacharya Vidyaranya.

Upanishads are those works on Gnana, which take men nearer to the Supreme Intelligence.

Karma Kanda—the Dharmas or religious instructions of the Hindus—are chiefly divided into two: namely Karma and Gnana. Karma—that which is done, leads to Gnana, that which is to be known as the essence of all creation—God.

See Hindu Law on the rights and liabilities of sanyasis.

Yathiashrama—the state of a sanyasi. Man—so long as he remains in his family life—is called a Grihasta or stationed with domestic environments. But when he renounces these affections, he becomes a sanyasi, and has special rules for his spiritual guidance.

Poorvashrama—the previous state of existence as opposed to the sanyasi state, to which a man steps in after his ordination. This state of sanyasi is sometimes called "Aparashrama" or after state.

Nirmamendra—"Mama" is self—and "Nirmama" is without selfishness. The sinking of selfish interests in those of the Universal, constitutes a state of philosophic existence, and "Nirmamandra" is one who is Indra or a chief among those who have renounced the worldly concerns.

The custom of Kings falling on the feet of their Gurus is not peculiar to the Hindus alone. With slight variations—according to local usages—it seems to obtain universal sway. The Bishop anoints the King or Emperor and asks him to take an oath, among the Christians. The paraphernalia of coronation is familiar to us. The Cauzey or Moulvi blesses the Mahomedan Princes and exacts worship from them. The Hindu Gurus place the crowns on the heads of their sovereigns, and expect the royal homage as a matter of religious right. Priests have held the highest position in the world. They never fall on the feet of their sovereigns, while on the other hand they expect their Kings to fall on their feet. No Matadhipathi, no Guru, no Bishop, no Moulvi and no Pope, Saint or philosopher, ever had been known to have fallen on the feet of their mightiest monarchs.

The *sasana* says "that to the famous King Bukka was the Minister named Madhava, distinguished for policy, courage and good qualities. He was the son of Chaunda of Angirasa Gotra; and noted for his excellent policy and great wisdom. He gained fame as a Saiva, through the favour of his master Kasivilas. He speedily conquered many countries on the western ocean. He cleared and made easy the ruined paths of the Upanishads. The valour of Bukka, as it were, had become incarnate in a holy man—Madhava for the protection of the world. By order of Vira Bukka Mahipathi, he accepted the government as far as the western ocean In order to have peace in that kingdom, he worshipped in the manner of Saivamnaya on the advice of Siva Guru Kasivilas Kryasakti in his favourite Linga Triumbaka Natha; by means of daily special ceremonies, and by a number of rites and practices. On the 8th lunar Tithi of the dark half of Kartika in Kilaka S. 1290 (A. D. 1368), having obtained permission from his lord Bukka Raja, he made a grant of a village to Cashmere Brahmins, from his own funds, in order to fulfil the great Saiva vow, which he had commenced with special rites, a year before." He was ruling in Chundraguttipura as a Pradhani to the provincial governor there, who was one of the Princes of the ruling dynasty. Another *sasana*, evidencing the sale of the village he granted is dated in the same year on the 1st day of the bright half of the lunar month Kartika; calls him as Madarsa Odeyar. The shares formed were 80 and all of them were granted to Cashmere Brahmins, pre-eminent for their virtues, and the country of their birth and daily observers of all the rites ordained in the Saivamnaya.*

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* No. 281 Shikarpur, "Ep. C.,"—Rice. See page 161, Chapter X.

In No. 282 of the same place, is given the particulars of the sale deed in which Madhava is distinctly called Madarsa Odeyaru. This precludes all idea of his being identified with Madhavacharya. The originals have been carefully perused by me, and they are clear.

The date of this inscription is 32 years after the foundation of Vidyanagar and 37 years after the consecration of Madhavacharya into the Holy Order. According to many authorities, Madhavacharya was born in the year S. 1189 or A.D. 1267. If this be accepted as a fact then Vidyaranya was more than a century old at the time of this grant, and it would be quite unreasonable to suppose, that with his advanced age, his previous training, history and work, his intellectual capacity, his religious position as Jagadguru, and his personal relation as Kula Guru to the members of the ruling family, Vidyaranya, could ever be persuaded to take up the government at Chandragutti, as Pradhan to a provincial governor, acknowledge any temporal Guru as Kasivilas, and become famous, through his grace as a great Saiva, receive orders from Bukka, engage himself in wars and conquests, and worship his "Linga" in the manner of Saivagama, as did his namesake Madhava Mantri. Madhava Mantri appears first in this *sasana*, and is alleged to have received orders for his government at Gutti from Bukka Raja.*

The status, intellectual and spiritual, of Vidyaranya was far higher, than the Hindu sovereigns could ever claim for themselves, and Vidyaranya seems to have gloried more in the epithet, "(Karnataka Simhasana Sthapanacharya)" founder of this kingdom, than governor under its Princes. He would not have cared to obtain a kingdom "which extended to the western ocean," from the very same Princes, whom he established on the throne of Vijayanagar, solely through his positional and monetary influence. Vidyaranya blonged purely to the Sankara's School of Adwaitha Philosophy, which totally repudiated the doctrines of Saivagama. Madhavacharya denies the authority of Agamas in all his Veda Bashyas "Sarvagnaya Sahi Madhava" is a title assumed by this sage,

*See Note on page 17, Chapter III.

and he who wrote the Veda Bashyas, who expounded the philosophy of the Upanishads. who sat on the pontifical throne of Sringeri founded by the great Sankaracharya, who established a royal dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar, who revived Vidyanagar in grand proportions, who caused—so the traditions run—"Suvarna Vristi" (rain of gold) to pour, and who strictly followed the grand Adwaitha system of philosophy, so ably expounded by the illustrious Sankaracharya, would, we believe, be the last personage, to seek the help of a temporal Guru, to take a religious vow to obtain a worldly advantage, to get a name as a great Saiva through the grace of a temporal Guru, to perform rites in the manner of Saivagama for one year, to worship at the lotus feet of the ruling monarch and to acquire a kingdom from the Princes of Vijayanagar and rule under their orders.

Madhava Mantri mentioned in the next *sasana* which evidences the sale deed of the village above referred to, is addressed by the sellers there as Madarsa Odeyaru, and it would be quite inconsistent with the traditions of the Sringeri Gurus, to be called in such a manner after they have sat upon its pontifical throne. At the date of the above *sasana*, we know that Vidyaranya, had long ago ceased to be called by the name Madhavacharya, nor could he hold with spiritual dignity, any minor office under the Vijayanagar Princes. There is no doubt whatever, that the person alluded to in the inscription as Madhava Mantri, was a Brahmin of great intellectual and military parts, and was certainly a contemporary of the great sage of that name.

Another important fact, which has to be noticed in this connection, is the authorship of the commentary on "Suta Samhita." This commentary is called "Tatparya Deepika," and is usually ascribed to Madhava-Vidyaranya. But if the invocation in the commentaries is carefully examined in the light of this and other inscriptions, the doubt is at once

solved, and we see that Madhava Mantri is the author of "Tatparya Deepika" and not Madhavacharya. The commentator commences with hailing his Guru as "Kasivilasa Kriyasakti Parama Bhakta Padabja Sevaka," adjectives which are totally absent in all the accredited works of Vidyaranya.*

A reference to the inscriptions will show that this Minister Madhava, was for some time serving under Sangama, that he was a great warrior, that he appeared on the political stage of Vijayanagar some years after its foundation with the approval of Vidyaranya, that he wielded supremacy over Goa and Chandragutti under the authority of the Vijayanagar Kings, that he was apparently a Saraswatha Brahmin from his grant to and employment of purely Cashmere Brahmins, and that he was also called Vira Vasanta Madhava. The following records are also to the point:—

"Marappa having conquered the kingdom of the West, established himself at Chandraguttipura; to this King was the Minister Madhava, whose Guru was Kriyasakti. . . . He compiled the "Saivamnayasara." †

This inscription also shows that Marappa, when he was passing on a certain occasion, encountered the Kadamba King who was surrounded by an army of elephants, horsemen and foot-soldiers, defeated him in battle and marched on to the holy place Gocarna, and there made great offerings to the God, and gifts to Brahmins.

* Vamana Sastry in his book, mentions the phrase Bhuvanaika Vira with respect to Madhava, and describes how he expelled the Mahomedans from Goa. Vamana Sastry, as well as Messrs. Sivavadhani, Rice, Sewell, Fleet, Burnell, and others, have obviously not gone deep into this important question of the identity and work of the great sage Madhavacharya, and the misconceptions they have fallen into could only be properly grasped by those who have made a patient search for truths in the voluminous documentary evidence we have now before us in the shape of stone and copper-plate inscriptions.

† No. 375 Sorab, dated A. D. 1347, "E. C."—Rice.

Madhava's titles mentioned in the "Suta Samhita" commentaries are exactly the same as those mentioned in the inscription dated A. D. 1368, above quoted, and clearly prove the identity of Madhava Mantri as a different Brahmin from the great sage Madhavacharya. From the inscriptions, as well as the list of dates, furnished by the Sringeri *Matt* authorities, it will be seen that Vidyaranya obtained his *siddhi* (died) in A. D. 1386. Therefore the inscription dated A. D. 1391, referred to by Vamana Sastry, editor of the "Madhava Rudra Bhashya," alleged to have been published in the time of Madhava and commemorating the event of the expulsion of the Mahomedans, from Goa, must certainly refer to Madhava Mantri, and not to Vidyaranya, who had passed away five years before this event.*

1. "Parasarasmriti Vyakhyana"; 2. "Manusmriti Vyakhyana"; 3. "Veda Bhashyas"; 4. "Jaimini Nyayamala Vistaram"; 5. "Kala Madhavyyam"; 6. "Vyavahara Madhavyyam"; 7. "Sankara Vijayam"; 8. "Sarvadarsana Sangraham"; and others, seem to have been the productions of Madhavacharya before he became a sanyasi, for we not only find his name, but also his special verse (Vagisadyas Sumanasa, etc.), by which he declares that his works should be distinguished from those of other writers. In some of these he also mentions his Gotra, and the name of his father. In the commentaries by himself on his splendid work of "Jaiminia Nyayamala Vistaram," he clearly says that his "Mudra Bhuta Sloka" above referred to has been used in all his works to identify them as his productions. But in the works he wrote after he became a sanyasi, these characteristics seem to have been studiously avoided by the learned sage as became

* In this instance Vamana Sastry seems to have fallen into the same misconception about Vidyaranya as many of the superficial Archæologists and Orientalists have done about Vidyaranya.

his Oottarashrama Dharma and the position he occupied as Jagadguru in Sringeri.

1. "Vedantha Pancha Dasi"; 2. "Vivarana Pramaya Sangraha"; 3. "Brahma Vidasirvada Paddhati"; 4. "Jivan Mukti Vivaka"; 5. Devi Aparadha Stottram"; and other works seem to have been composed after he became a sanyasi, as they contain no references to his name or the name of his father, or Gotra, but only mention the name of his spiritual Guru Vidya Thirtha and Sankara. Vidyaranya's brain was ever active, and looking at the quantity, quality and the vast number of subjects he has handled with such ease and mastery, one cannot but be struck at the gigantic nature of his intellect and the erudition he has brought to bear in his immortal commentaries on the four Vedas of the Hindus.*

Vidyaranya's position in the world then—as it is now—is quite unique. No Brahmin Minister or adviser in Indian history wielded such political, spiritual and intellectual influence throughout the length and breadth of India, as did sage Vidyaranya.

Bukka I. and Harihara II. were no doubt the greatest Hindu sovereigns of their times, and they commanded the undisputed sway over the whole of Southern India, portions of South Deccan, and the whole of the east coast, including a portion of Oriya. But the power exerted by Vidyaranya, was even greater than what those monarchs were able to wield. His name implies a "forest of learning" and he appears to have been, from all accounts to hand, the greatest scholar of the age. Even after the lapse of more than five centuries, his intellect stands far above those of the scholars who have appeared since his time.

* *See* page 162 c.x.

I cannot close this without again expressing my thanks to Messrs. Chintakindi Suryanarayana Murti, B.A., and Chedalwada Sundara Ramasastrulu for the learned discussions we had about this important subject and the valuable help these gentlemen gave me in the reading of the necessary inscriptions bearing on it.

A small island formed by the two branches of the Thungabhadra, near the famous Hampi temple, is still pointed out as "Sanyasi Dibba," and there is a stone mantapa of humble proportions in which, it is alleged, that the great Vidyaranya lived and practised his Yoga. Like Chanikya and the former Maharishis, he led a severe ascetic life, undisturbed by the bustle of the grand city which extended on the southern bank of the river for many miles, and which he revived and called it after his own honored name. In his younger days, he appears to have taken an active part in the formation of the Vijayanagar kingdom, but as he grew old, he separated himself from its political atmosphere, and seems to have continued to give advice only when the matter was most important, or when counsel was sought from him. His whole life seems to have been a strange illustration, of what extraordinary men, can do to the world, and still how they can withdraw themselves from the ebb and flow of its passions, and from the cares and anxieties, attending on human existence.

It may not be possible to find many names—if we search in the pages of the world's history—which can furnish a career parallel to that of this wonderful personage, and if Vidyaranya stands today as one of the greatest men among the historical and literary characters, he richly deserves that proud distinction by his gigantic intellect, his versatile genius, his political prudence and foresight, his business capacity, and his simple and devoted life. Lapse of five centuries have added a bright halo around his revered name and the future, we may feel sure, seems to have a still higher tribute to pay to his unrivalled genius.*

* If Vidyaranya had an Indian reputation during his lifetime, his immortal commentaries on the four Vedas and other philosophical works, have now reached the remotest corners of the world and continue to widen his literary fame, and t[illegible]sh laurels to it by the greatest Orientalists of this age, who hav[illegible] depend on Vidyaranya, for collecting the priceless treasures, of knowledge from the Vedantic works of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Bukka II. or Deva Raya I.

Confusion appears to rule supreme, over the events, the length of reign, and the identity of this sovereign. A careful examination, of all the lists published by European and Native historians of Vijayanagar, leads the readers to a state of chaos from which it would be extremely difficult to emerge with any satisfactory historical evidence to guide them in this narrative. The only remedy, which seems to be useful, in this state of confusion, is a patient examination of the inscriptions and copper-plate grants, which have been, fortunately, preserved in good order, for helping the present and future historians of Vijayanagar. Mr. Sewell devotes a short para. to this sovereign and apparently places his readers, in a state of great historical uncertainty. Whether Bukka II., Deva Raya I., or Pratapa Deva Raya were one and the same individual, or were different persons, is a point of great interest in the history of Vijayanagar, which has yet to be solved by its historian. Mr. Sewell begins his observations thus about Bukka II. :—"We have little to guide us as to the events of Bukka's reign, but Ferista states that he ceased to pay tribute to Feroz Shah, partly owing to instigation from Guzerat, Malwa and Khandeish. In Hijera 808 (June A.D. 1405 to June A.D. 1406) four years tribute was owing, but the Sultan took no notice, and waited for a more convenient time. Bukka was followed on the throne of Vijayanagar by his brother Deva Raya I., the date of whose coronation is fixed by an important inscription at Hassan, in Mysore, as November 5, 1406."*

* "Mysore inscriptions," Rice, page 27[illegible] Professor Keilhorn in "Ind. Ant.," Chap. XXIV, page 204, No. 304 and Note.

"The last inscription of Bukka Raya at present known bears a date corresponding to April 30th in that year,—in Hindu reckoning, the 12th day of the first half of the month Vaisakha in the (expired) Saka year 1328, the name of the cyclic year being "Vyaya."*

Continuing his remarks, Mr. Sewell says "Ferista tells us of an event that must have taken place towards the end of the year A. D. 1406 in which the principal actor was the King of Vijayanagar. This King I believe to have been Bukka II.'s successor his younger brother Deva Raya I."†

Inscriptions however later than those which are named by Mr. Sewell were discovered and published some 10 years ago by Mr. Rice, but Mr. Sewell apparently did not examine them. An inscription dated S. 1328 Vyaya (May A. D. 1406), Jaista, mentions clearly that Harihara Maharaya's son, Bukka Raya, was ruling in Vijayanagar. Another copper-plate grant dated 6th day of the dark half of the month Bhadrapada in S. 1328 Vyaya (September A.D. 1306), clearly states that a grant was made by Bukka Raya Deva Rayaru. The originals are clear in these passages, and admit of no doubts, whatever. The date of the coronation of Deva Raya was Kartika Krishna Dasami (Friday) in the year S. 1328 Vyaya (November A.D. 1406). ‡

The Chronicles of Nuniz have already been quoted about the reign of Harihara II. whom the Portuguese traveller calls as "Pureoyre Deorao." Continuing his narrative about his successor, Nuniz observes that "this

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* "South Indian Inscriptions" i. 82—Dr. Hultzsch.

† *See* pp. 55 and 57, of Sewell's "Forgotten Empire."

‡ The copper-plate grant is No. 108 Devanagiri in Mr. Rice's "E. C." The first inscription is No.28 Mundya, and the coronation inscription is No. 133 of Hassan. The originals have been carefully read by me, and they are in perfect state of preservation. Even Mr Rice does not seem to have bestowed that attention upon the solution of this important point which the public expected of him from the facilities, which the Government of Mysore placed at his disposal for the elucidation of these historical problems. *See* "M.G." Vol., p. 346.—Rice.

King had a son who, by his death, inherited the kingdom, who was called Aja Rao, and he reigned '43 years in which time he was always at war with the Moors; and he took Goa, Chaul, Daball, Ceillão and all the country of Charamandal, which had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom and he did many other works, which are not narrated here. This King made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagundyam which was far from it, for what water there was in the country, was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the King desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself with great boulders and according to story, he threw "in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the King's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there were many in the kingdom, and the water so brought, he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city, that it increased his revenue by more than 350,000 parodas. By means of this water they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards, and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons, and oranges and roses, and other trees which in this country, bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river, they say the King spent all the treasure, that had come to him from the King his father, which was a very great sum of money. This King left a

son called Visa Rao who inherited the kingdom on the death of his father, and he lived six years and during this time did nothing worth relating."*

An inscription dated Tharana, S. 1326, in the month of Kartika on the 9th day of the dark fortnight (November

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* If we take Nuniz, with an allowance of even a century which Mr. Sewell grants him? (*sic*) then we have the following dates for Vijayanagar sovereigns. Foundation of Vijayanagar A.D. 1336. First King Deorao, ruled 7 years. This brings Nuniz and Sewell down to A.D. 1343. Nuniz says that Buccarao ruled 37 years. This brings them to A.D. 1380. He gives no idea of the extent of the reign of "Pureoyre Deorao." Then he introduces "Aja Rao" and gives him 43 years. If we accept Mr. Sewell's authority (which has been proved to be quite incorrect by inscriptions) Pureoyre Deorao died in A.D. 1399. This gives him a reign of 19 years. His son "Aja Rao" ruled for 43 years and this brings them to A.D. 1442. Turning to the "Raya Vamsavali" we see the confusion increased rather than removed. *See* p. 18, Chap. III. of this book. Nagundyam I suppose stands for the river Thungabhadra. Nuniz betrays ignorance when he says that the river is five leagues from the city. The city of Vijayanagar was on both the banks of the Thungabhadra, that on the northern side being called Anagondi, and that on the southern side being called Vijayanagar. The grand anicut attributed to Deva Raya is about 10 or 12 miles from the city and is a magnificent work of irrigation. Mr. Sewell rightly observes thus on this work:—"But his great work was the construction of a huge dam in the Thungabhadra river, and the formation of an aqueduct 15 miles long from the river, into the city. If this be the same channel that to the present day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city, it is a most extraordinary work. For several miles this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India." The water from the river brought to the city has to cross a deep channel or stream which flows into the Thungabhadra. This is cleverly managed by a huge bridge of stones, and the canal which flows on the top is made entirely of stone. It is still in good preservation, and strikes the visitor as to its magnitude and ingenuity. Myself and the present Raja of Anagondi were greatly impressed with admiration at the extraordinary labour they had to bestow on these grand works of irrigation. The name "Aja Rao" used by Nuniz is new to the list of Vijayanagar Princes. But the Portuguese Chronicler must clearly have meant by "Aja Rao" Vijaya Rao. From a close study of all the available inscriptions published up to date, Vijaya Raya ruled only for less than a year and the length of reign attributed by Nuniz to him has been found to be entirely false. It can never be pretended that the Portuguese traveller, had any knowledge of these inscriptions nor the capacity to read the vernacular inscriptions, as he stayed only for a short time at the capital.

A.D. 1404) states that when Virupaksha Maharaya, son of Vira Pratapa Harihara Maharaya was ruling in Vijayanagari protecting the different sects of people in righteousness, Vittana ruling in Araga under, his orders, made a grant to goddess Bana, in Hirigundi. Bukka II. was probably not present at the time of the death of his father Harihara II. who died in the same year, two months earlier. But this may also show that after the performance of his father's obsequies, Bukka Raya may have gone on his royal tour of inspection, leaving his younger brother Virupaksha on the throne of Vijayanagar to attend to the State duties in his absence.*

Referring to Dr. Burnell, we find that the last date he gives to Harihara II. is A.D. 1401, and names as his successor his son Bukka II. from A.D. 1401 to A.D. 1418. This King married Thippamba. He also states that the elder son of Bukka II.—"Deva Raja, Vira Deva or Vira Bhupathi"—as ruling from A.D. 1418 to A.D. 1434; and notes the name of his brother Krishna Raja. He states that Deva Raja married Padmamba and Mallamba, and was succeeded by Vijaya A.D. 1434 to A.D. 1454; and others, Proudha Deva from A.D. 1456 to A.D. 1477; Mallikarjuna from A.D. 1431 to A.D. 1487; Ramachandra A.D. 1487; Virupaksha A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1490.†

* An interesting point in this *sasana* is the plain statement it contains that Virupaksha was ruling in Vijayanagar, in peace and wisdom. There is no documentary evidence which records references to any internal troubles or civil wars, among the brothers or cousins of the ruling family in Vijayanagar. Virupaksha appears to have handed over the charge of the government as soon as his elder brother Bukka made his appearance at the capital. A few years later we find Sadasiva Raya doing the same thing.

† Sewell states that in opposition to Dr. Burnell's tables, the examination of 35 dated inscriptions, give him between the years A.D. 1406 and A.D. 1487 the facts, that Harihara II. was succeeded by Deva Raya I. in or before the year A.D. 1406, that the latter had a son called Vijaya Bhupathi, who was living in A.D. 1418 and that his son Deva Raya II. reigned from A.D. 1422 (about) till at least A.D. 1447. He further observes, that his inscriptions give him the names of Mallikarjuna A.D. 1459,

When we refer to Mr. Rice, who seems to have taken a great deal of trouble in the collection and examination of the large number of inscriptions, we find that "Harihara II., had a queen Mala Devi, of the family of Rama Deva, probably the Yadava King, the son who succeeded him was Deva Raya or Pratapa Deva Raya, who at first apparently called himself Bukka Raya. There were also two sons, Chickaraya Odeyar, perhaps the same Prince, before came to the throne, governing at Araga, the chief city of the Mala Rajjya or the hill kingdom, and Virupaksha, who professes to have conquered all the eastern countries down to and including Ceylon. Deva Raya's son, Vijaya Raya, by Demambika, was governing at Malbagal, and seems to have come next to the throne; but there is some confusion in the history here. Deva Raya had also a son, Mullana Odeyar, by Mallayavve, who was governing in the west at Honavar. During the last two reigns, the greater part of Karnata and Talingana with the coast of Canara, had come under the Vijayanagar sway."*

Here we see according to Mr. Rice, that Bukka Raya II. ascended the throne, and called himself Deva Raya I. after his coronation in November A.D. 1406. References to other lists, do not help us much in determining this important question. The remarks of Taylor, who seems to have digested the best available information during his time, are pertinent, and will be quoted here for reference. He says: "It is not easy to determine what Prince reigned in Bijanagar, at the period of accession of Mohomed Shah to the throne of Gulburga, as none of the genealogical lists

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Virupaksha A.D. 1470 and A.D. 1473, and Proudha Deva A.D. 1476. Inscriptions Nos. 87, 89 and 138 of his list of copper-plate grants give the genealogy of Deva Raya II. son of Vijaya Bhupathi, son of Deva Raya I. son of Harihara II. This is confirmed by the inscription published in the "As. R.," Chap. XX., p. 22, dated A.D. 1420 to A.D 1427, which gives the same genealogy in which Vira Deva Raya is expressly termed as Abhi Nava or the young Deva Raya.—"S. I. A.," Vol. II., page 245.

* "M. G.," Vol. I., page 347—Rice.

agree one with one another. The most probable is Deva or Deva Raya who is named Kishen Ray by Ferista. . . . Unfortunately, Bijanagar had no Hindu historian, and had it not been for the Mahomedan records, this great Hindu dynasty, like others, would have left no memorials, except inscriptions. It is, therefore, impossible to follow the details of the internal condition or successive conquests, during the periods it was not engaged with the Mahomedans, but there is no question that the extent of its dominions, as also its wealth, far exceeded those of the Mahomedans, who, as Ferista observes, only maintained their superiority by their valour. Whether the third war with the Mahomedans occurred from the act of the same Deo Rai or another, it is very difficult to determine, but the Deva Raya who reigned from A.D. 1391 to A.D. 1414, according to Mr. Ravenshaw's list, was on this occasion the aggressor and invaded the Raichore Doab with 30,000 horse and a vast number of foot. Feroz Shah met the Hindus on the bank of the Krishna river, and procured the assassination of the Raja's son by a fanatic, who disguised himself as a player and performed in the Raja's presence. This tragical event dismayed Deva Raya and he fled to his capital, followed by Feroz Shah, who laid waste the country south-west of Bijanagar, occupied it in force and was only stayed from further proceedings by the payment of 11 lacs of Hons—about half-a-million sterling. It might be supposed that so severe a lesson would have restrained the Hindu Prince from further aggressions, but this was not the case. In A.D. 1406 he heard of a very beautiful girl, the daughter of a goldsmith at Mudgal, then held by the Mahomedans, and sent a large body of cavalry to carry her off. She had, however, escaped and the Bijanagar horse in revenge ravaged the country. Feroz Shah immediately resented the insult, and obliged the Raja not only to give him his daughter in marriage, but also to cede Bankapur and other

districts to the west as her dowry, and to give also 10 lacs of Hons (£450,000), five *mans* of pearls (120lbs.) weight, 50 elephants and 2,000 slaves, and thus a third peace was concluded. After the accession of Mohomed Shah Wully war again broke out between Gulburga and Bijanagar. Deva Raya, according to Mr. Ravenshaw's list, had been succeeded by Vijaya in A.D. 1414, who was besieged in his capital, but finding resistance fruitless paid the arrear of tribute and sent his son to escort the Mahomedan King to the frontier. In A.D. 1435, however, a fresh arrear of five year's tribute had occurred, and Mohomed Khan, the brother of Alla-ud-deen II. was sent to enforce payment. Vijaya Raya had reigned till A.D. 1424 and Pandura Deo Rai had succeeded him. The campaign had a strange termination in the rebellion of the Prince Mohomed Khan, but the event had excited in the mind of the Pandura Deo Rai a desire to conquer the whole of the Bahmini kingdom. He admitted Mahomedans into his army, allotted to them a quarter of the city, and even built a mosque for their use, allowing them free practice for the rites of their religion. These haughty Moslem warriors, would not salute an infidel Prince even on his throne, and made their salutations to a copy of the Koran placed before him, and it is very doubtful whether they were ever perfectly faithful. Having made his preparations, the Hindu Prince in A. D. 1443 crossed the Toombadra and overran the country as far as Sugger and Bijapur."*

* Here we observe no mention of Bukka II. Pandura Deo Rai, of course stands for Proudha Deva Raya. Vijaya Raya is introduced as King in A.D. 1414 and Proudha Deva Raya in A.D. 1424 and he seems to have been the Prince who was engaged with the Mussalmans in A.D. 1443, which has been interestingly confirmed by the journal of Abdur Razzak, an ambassador to India from the King of Khorassan in A.D. 1442-43, which had been translated for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. W. Major and published under the title of "India in the Fifteenth Century." Proudha Deva Raya is given a reign up to A.D. 1450. *See* "Taylor's History," p. 189. Let us examine the course of events between A.D. 1406, the year of accession of Deva Raya I. to the throne of Vijayanagar, and A.D. 1443 the year in which

Harihara II. died early in September, A.D. 1404 and Deva Raya was crowned early in November A.D. 1406. The gap—a period of little more than two years—is not properly filled up by the previous writers. A large number of inscriptions have been carefully examined in the original, and the facts supplied by them furnish undisputed evidence as regards the rulers who governed Vijayanagar during this period. Harihara II. had apparently four sons. Bukka or Deva Raya, Virupaksha, Chikka Raya and Sadasiva Raya. (?) Two *sasanas*, which have been examined, speak of Virupaksha Maharaya as ruling in Vijayanagari in A.D. 1404. One is dated Tharana, S. 1326, 9th lunar day of the dark half of Kartika Somawara (Monday) and it says that Vittana, son of Minister Bommarasa, was ruling in Araga, under the orders of Virupaksha Maharaya, and he made a grant. This corresponds with November, A.D. 1404. There is another inscription dated Tharana, on the 13th day of the dark half of Margasiru Sanivara (Saturday), which says that when Vittana, son of Bommarasa, son of Rayappa, was ruling in Araga with the permission of Virupaksha Maharaya, the ruling Prabhus of the 18 Kampanas, made grant of lands. This corresponds with December, A.D. 1404. Bukka made a grant of an Agrahara called Halamattur to the Brahmins on the Poornama of Kartika in the year Tharana, S. 1326 (November A.D. 1404). This was also on a Monday. A week after, on the 9th day of the dark half of the same Kartika, on a Monday, we find Virupaksha Maharaya, as being seated on the throne of Vijayanagar, and making grants. In the next month, December, A.D. 1404, we also find Virupaksha on the throne.

Then we have a number of inscriptions which declare grants made when Bukka Raya Maharaya was on the throne of Vijayanagari.

Abdur Razzak made his appearance in Bijanagar and wrote his memorable diary. According to the above authorities, the names of Deva Raya, Vijaya Raya and Proudha Deva Raya, appear in the lists, but they make no reference to Bukka II., Virupaksha and Sadasiva Raya.

No further inscriptions, in the name of Virupaksha Raya have been discovered, as yet after December A.D. 1404. Here it may be reasonably presumed, that after making a grant on the Kartika Poornama, in Tharana, S. 1326 (November A.D. 1404), Bukka Raya II., apparently left Vijayanagari on a tour of inspection in his empire, placing his brother Virupaksha Maharaya in charge of the current duties at the royal capital. Virupaksha seems to have made a grant only a week after that made by his brother Bukka II. In this he calls himself as Maharajadli Rajah, etc., and seated on the throne of Vijayanagar. Bukka appears to have made a long tour, in his extensive territories, for we find that the next inscription of his is dated July or August A.D. 1405, 1st day of Sravana in S. 1327, Parthiva.*

In November A.D. 1405, when Bukka II. was ruling in Vijayanagar, his palace Minister, Heggapa, made a gift to god Chenna Kesava in Belur.

We find from the Koppa inscription that Bukka II. was the son of Harihara II. by Pampa.

From these it seems plain, that Bukka II. was identical with Deva Raya I., and that the last name was assumed, a few months before his coronation.

The Kings of Vijayanagar had become at this time sole rulers of the whole of Southern India, and their deaths, as well as their accessions to the throne, had become events of the greatest political importance, and were naturally celebrated in due form and with great pomp.

If Bukka II. had died in A.D. 1406, before the coronation of Deva Raya I., and if he had been a different personage, some record of his death, or some grant of villages made for his spiritual benefit might naturally have been expected. This doubt about the indentity of Bukka with Deva

* *See* Ins. Nos. 12, 13, 126, and 196 Tirthahalli, and 25 of Koppa, "E. C."—Rice.

Raya, is also clearly removed by an inscription dated Vyaya, S. 1328 (September A.D. 1406) in which both these names occur separately and also together.*

As Bukka I. was the most famous, the subsequent monarchs of Vijayanagar, seem to have added the name of Bukka, Vijaya, or Vira Pratapa, as additional honorifics to their proper names. In A.D. 1432 we find Pratapa Deva Raya Maharaya being styled as Vijaya Bukka Raya Maharaya's son, and in A.D. 1423 we have Deva Raya II. being styled as Vira Deva Raya-Pratapa Vijaya-Bukka Raya. Here we see that these epithets Vijaya and Bukka, one the name of the city of "victory"—their capital,—and the other the name of the most famous sovereign in their line who extended and consolidated their kingdom in the commencement, were names, which the subsequent sovereigns assumed, by way of honour.

Therefore, it will be seen that Bukka II. was called by that name until he was crowned regularly two years later after his father's death; and then he permanently assumed the name of Deva Raya Maharaya.

In an inscription dated S. 1346 we have the Maharaja styled as Vijaya-Bukka Raya. This corresponds with A.D. 1424, and we know as a matter of fact the Prince referred to was Deva Raya II. or Proudha Deva Raya, son of Vijaya-Bukka II. or Deva Raya I., reigned up to A.D. 1422. An inscription dated Shobhakritu Sravana Poornama, S. 1344 (Monday, August A.D. 1422), commemorates the death of Deva Raya I. by his son Mahamandalaswara Harihara Raya, forming an Agrahara in Terukanambi kingdom, and

* Dr. Burnell and Mr. Rice share the same view. The latest information does not seem to have been incorporated into the history, or "S. I. Ant." of Mr. Sewell. Much reliable information may be gathered from the inscriptions published by Mr. Rice, under the direction of the Government of Mysore, to whom the public owe a deep debt of gratitude. Further on it will be seen in the genealogical lists given in the inscriptions that Deva Raya I. is made the son of Harihara II., his son is Vijaya whose son is Deva Raya II. Bukka II. was the same as Deva Raya I.

calling it Devarajapura. He granted it to the Brahmins for the spiritual benefit of his illustrious father, and his union with Siva. This clearly proves the death of Deva Raya I. a short time before August A.D. 1422. We have seen that Bukka II. or Deva Raya I. ruled from September A.D. 1404 to July A.D. 1422 for a period of 18 years. A short notice of the inscriptions ascribed to Deva Raya I. may now be taken with a view to gather the important facts, which are found therein. In Sarwjit, S. 1329 a *sasana* records, that when Pratapa Deva Raya, son of Harihara, was ruling, all the people of Mandanad and Hombuchunad, made a grant to Kamoja, son of Bommaja, when Vittana, was ruling in Araga.*

We find a Prince Sadasiva Raya distinctly named in an inscription dated Sarwajit, S. 1329-30 as ruling in peace and wisdom with all the imperial titles, and Vittana, ruling in Araga under his orders, when a grant of a village was made to god Dakshinamurti. This will be A.D. 1407. In Vyaya, the year previous, we have Deva Raya ruling in Vijayanagari.†

* Tirukanambi is evidently of great antiquity. Formerly it seems to have been called Trikadamba Pura, and to have risen out of the village Kudugallu, where the boundary stones of Dravida, Kerala, and South Karnata countries united. At this junction, a Karnata Prince named Lamba Karna (long-eared) erected a temple in the 6th century. He belonged to the Kadamba line, and probably was Trinetra Kadamba or Mayura Varma. This line of Kings was subdued by the Hoysalas, and they were in turn ousted by the Vijayanagar rulers. Harihara of Vijayanagar seems to have added much to the importance of this city. Remains of five lines of strong fortifications, may be seen even now, but the fort was finally destroyed by the Mahrattas in A.D. 1747. The ruins of the old palace are still pointed out, which according to the local tradition, was six or seven stories high. There are the ruins of about 12 temples of large dimensions, and they contain many inscriptions. In the neighbourhood of this place there are a large number of tanks—now unused—but indicating the former extent of this city. Mayura Varma ruled much earlier than the 6th century. "M. G.," Vol. II., page 310 —Rice.

† Mr. Rice puts Deva Raya in the translation for Sadasiva Raya in the original. It is difficult to understand the duties of an Archæologist. If after stating correctly what the original contains, facts and figures do not

Sadasiva Maharaja, stated in the original *sasana*, is a new name, but there seems to be no great obstacle to get over this difficulty. Sadasiva Raya, may have been a brother of Deva Raya, as Virupaksha was, and might have been placed in charge of the current official duties at the capital when Deva Raya went on a royal tour of inspection.*

In A.D. 1408 we have some inscriptions which state that Deva Raya, the perfect reflection of Harihara, was ruling in Vijayanagari in peace and wisdom, and that grants were made to gods and Brahmins. One of these *sasanas* is peculiarly interesting as showing, that Gopanah, who professed Jainism, made gifts of gold, grain, land, and cows to Brahmins and went to *swarga* with his two wives, Padmayi and Gopayi. Probably this refers to their *sahagamana* ("sati") with their husband.†

An inscription dated Sarwadhari, S. 1330 (A.D. 1408) states that when Deva Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar, under his orders, a village was given to Venkanna Bahatta for reciting Puranas before god Ramanatha in Kudali—the southern Varanasi. Another dated Virodhi, S. 1331 (A.D. 1409), records the assignment of certain taxes for the worship of god Mallinatha, of Kudiheru, in Mogurnad. In the next year a Virakal erected in honor of Narappa Naika "who died fighting till his quiver was emptied,"

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agree, or are not to his way of interpretation, then perhaps an Archæologist may be justified in adding in footnotes, his own views on the matter. In his transliteration he has entirely omitted the name of the sovereign. The procedure seems strange. *See* No. 162 Tirthahalli, "E. C.," Vol. VIII., pp. 196, 350, 641—Rice.

* *See* p. 242, footnote.

† No. 261 Sorab. No. 131 Tirthahalli. "E. C.," Vol. VIII., Part II—Rice. Jainism differs considerably from Brahminism in its religious tenets. It is therefore interesting to note that a dying Jain made valuable gifts to Brahmins. The spirit of toleration and appreciation of real merit seems to have been common among the people of those times.

records the rule of Deva Raya Maharaya. This warrior's wife made a "sati."*

In Virodhi, Phalguna, S. 1332 (A.D. 1411) Madappa's wife made "sati," when Deva Raya Maharaya was ruling and a stone was set up.

An important copper-plate grant (whose purport seems to have been inscribed on a stone in the temple at Harihara) dated Vikruti, S. 1332 (A.D. 1411), states that Deva Raya Maharaya, made an agreement for the god Harihara, and for the Brahmins living in Hariharakshetra in the following manner :- The Brahmins of Harihara should build a dam to the river Haridra, at their own expenses, and bring channels through the God's lands. Of the lands so irrigated by these channels, two parts shall go to the God and one part to the Brahmins for the capital they invested. The enjoyment of these lands may be held in peace and perpetuity according to this agreement, free of all imposts. In order that they may be known with certainty, what Brahmins are entitled to the shares under this agreement,

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* Kudali is a sacred village at the confluence of the rivers Thunga and Bhadra about nine miles from Shimoga. It is the seat of a *Matt*, connected with Sringeri, the original Guru having been appointed by the Sringeri swamy five centuries ago to minister to the Smarthas of Maharatta descent.

There is also a *Matt* for the Madhvas. The Mahrattas, however, under Parsuram Bhao, plundered and burnt the place in A.D. 1791; and were consequently threatened with excommunication by the Guru which they averted by making timely gifts. The copper-plate grant at the Brahmaswara temple, professes to have been granted by the Emperor Rukmangada ruling at Ayodhya. The Sringeri *Matt* has one copper-plate grant made by a Kadamba King named Purandara Raya in the 11th century. Varuna and Asi are two small streams which enclose the space on which Benarese now stands, and these fall into the Ganges. Kasi and Varanasi are other names for Benarese, the most sacred of the Indian cities in the eye of the Hindus. Any other place, therefore, which is to be held sacred in Southern India will generally be called Dakshina Kasi or Varanasi of the South. Such places are many in Southern India, and they usually have a local tradition to the effect that once in a certain number of years, the Ganges secretly sends its waters to the rivers or ponds in them, and adds considerable merit in this way to their original sanctity.

their names, Sutras and Gotras are here written. One hundred and eleven shares were formed, out of which 108 shares were given to the Brahmins, one share for offerings to the God and two shares for feeding five Brahmins every day, and for carrying out the work of the dam, the Brahmin shareholders, gave to Minister Ballappa, son of Mantri Jagannatha of Goutama Gotra, from their own share, two "khandugas" of rice lands in one place.

In the *sasana* are also given directions regarding the annual repairs and other expenses arising from the act of God or of government, to be borne in the proportion of their respective shares, as also that the water of the channels should be distributed similarly, and the expenses of wells and tanks, formed under the channels or other expenses connected with the river should be distributed in the same way. Here, we have the name of the Prime Minister as Nagappa, to whom and to Deva Raya Maharaya the Minister Jagannatha, son of Manga Raja, made application, and after obtaining their orders, gave instructions to his son, the Minister Ballappa, to carry out the work.*

An inscription, dated Vilambi, S. 1340 (A.D. 1418) on the south wall of the Vella Rajagopura, Tiruvanamalai (Trinomele) records gift of jewels to the temple by Vira

* From this we learn that Deva Raya took much interest in building dams himself, as well as in affording facilities for his people to construct dams, wherever they were possible. Nuniz distinctly says that this King built the dam over the Thungabhadra, and extended the defences of the city by constructing further lines of fortifications; and brought canals, all through the city of Vijayanagar, by which the King's revenue was increased by 350,000 parodas or about 14 lacs of rupees. Considering the single dam he made in the river the income must be considered as extremely profitable, but the capital he laid seems to have been enormous. He not only added fresh income to the revenue of his city, but also converted it and its environs into a series of smiling fruit and flower gardens which must have added peculiarly to the scenic effect and comforts of the dwellers at the capital, and enhanced its splendour, and value among the royal cities of the world. No. 23 Davanagere, "E. C.," Vol. XI.—Rice.

Vijaya Bhupathi, "probably Deva Raya Maharaya." A *sasana* dated S. 1332 (A.D. 1410) records a grant of Deva Raya of Vijayanagar.*

A copper-plate grant dated Vikari, Pooshya Amavasya, S. 1341 (January, A.D. 1420), states that, when Deva Raya Maharaya was ruling in Vijayanagari, which is Hampi-Hastinavati—belonging to Anagondi Durga—protecting all his territories, in peace and righteousness, seated on his imperial throne, Bachanna Odeyar's younger brother, Mallappa Odeyar, was governing Guttidurga, under the orders of his monarch, granted to Tirumalagowda Mugalgere, in the Yadavatnad of the Chandragutti Vente, belonging to the Banavase Twelve Thousand, with an order that the rent should be paid regularly to the palace without any default.†

Inscription dated Khara, S. 1334 (A.D. 1412), records a grant by Mallana Odeyar, son of Deva Raya Maharaya, of a village to the east of Bemmattanakallupattana. Deva Raya seems to have had five sons, Bhaskara, Mallana, Harihara, Vijaya—who afterwards succeeded him on the throne,—and another who was murdered by the disguised Cauzy, as related already.

The *sasana* is important as showing the antiquity of Chitaldroog and its local traditions. Mallana Odeyar was

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* "S. I. Ant.," Vol. II., pp. 105, 207—Sewell.

It is unnecessary to call Vijaya, Deva Raya. Deva Raya's eldest son was Vijaya, who succeeded to the throne after his father's death, and who was the Yuva Raja. As such he had every facility to give jewels to the Gods and lands to Brahmins. Mr. Sewell's guess is against facts.

† Guttidurga, may refer to Chandragutti or Gooty, in the Anantapur District.

In this case, it looks as if Gutti refers to Gooty and not to Chandragutti; although the village granted seems to belong to Banavase Twelve Thousand. Mallappa is called a Mahamantri and therefore wielded greater power than the rulers in Chandragutti. The wording of the *sasana* is peculiar. Anagondi Durga is introduced, and Hastinavati Vidyanagari is specially called a Maharajadhani, the great royal city among the capitals.

apparently ruling there, and in honor of his mother Mallayavve, and for her spiritual benefit, gave a grant of Kunchiganahalli, calling it Mallapura, free of all imposts to provide for the worship of god, and for building a stone tower over the southern entrance of the temple of Hidambanatha.*

A *sasana* dated Nandana, S. 1335 (A.D. 1413), states that when Vira Deva Raya Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, the lord of ships, Mangalore Nagi Gowda's son, Setti Gowda, went to *swarga*, and his wife entered the fire.†

* No. 14 Chitaldroog—Rice.

The ancient capitals of Nolambapattana, Chandravali, and Penjeru or Henjeru, were situated in this District, and Bemmattanakallu was made the capital of the Hoysalas after they had partly recovered their possessions in the latter part of the 13th century. From the middle of the 14th century it passed into the Vijayanagar family and continued to be the chief city in the provinces. Vijayanagar Princes sometimes ruled here, and in the 15th century a number of subordinate Polygars arose who held tracts of country on feudal tenure.

According to the local tradition, a giant called Hidambasura was killed here by Bhima, the second of the Pandu Princes. Chitaldroog is surrounded by strong lines of fortifications on a dense cluster of rocky hills, which must have been considered formidable in those days. There is a small temple on a huge boulder, in which a tooth of Hidamba is supposed to be kept. This shrine has to be approached by a narrow and difficult flight of steps. When I visited the temple the priest showed me a big sized tooth, and swore that it was Hidamba's. After Hidamba was killed by Bhima, his sister Hidambi married him, and Ghatotkacha was their son. He was one of the greatest of the heroes in the war between Pandus and Kurus, and was specially skilful in "Maya Yuddhu" or fighting in different shapes and forms. He was killed by the famous warrior Karna in a night battle; after doing most incredible deeds of valour.

† No 467 Sorab. Vol. VIII., Pt. II., p. 10—Rice. This brings to light a most important point, which deserves special reference. The Vijayanagar rulers at this period had already been masters of the western, southern and eastern coasts, and had collected a navy—of what description it is difficult to say—and placed it under a commander in Mangalore. It seems to have been their chief port or one of the chief ports, and here we have Naga Gowda holding the position of naval commander.

Entering fire means "sati."

A *sasana* dated S. 1338 (A.D 1416), states that when Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling the kingdom, a Virakal was set up for Bomma Gowda and his wife. Another Virakal of the same year set up for the bravery of Moolitha Varma declares that Vira Pratapa Deva Raya Maharaya was ruling in peace.

A *sasana* under date Manmatha, S. 1337 (A.D. 1415), states that when Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar, and Chendrasakhara Bharati Odeyar in Sringeri, the Brahmins and Bommadeva Heggada of Harandur, made a grant of lands at the time of the moon's eclipse. An inscription dated Hevalambi, Sravana, S. 1339 (A.D. 1417), declares that when Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling in Vidyanagari, protecting the different religious systems, and ruling in wisdom and peace, and by that monarch's order, Brahma Kshatri, descendant of Sankappa Rayappa, Vittana Odeyar was ruling the Araga kingdom, certain Heggades of Mugarvali, sold to Devappaya, lands under the tank built in Mumbele.

Another *sasana* of the same date Bhadampala, S. 1339 (A.D. 1417), states that when Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was seated on the throne of Vijayanagar, ruling the kingdom in peace and prosperity, Rama Gowda died and his wife Bomma Gaundi performed "sati," and both took *swarga* by force.

An inscription dated Vikari, S. 1341 (A.D. 1419), states that when Vira Deva Raya was ruling the kingdom of the world, the ruler of Talakad Nad made a grant of paddy lands of Mallinadapura, the chief quarter of his town.*

* Talakad seems to be a town of remote antiquity. The Sanskrit name is Dalavana or Dalavanapura. Rama seems to have halted here for sometime on his expedition to Lanka to recover his fair spouse Sita. The Ganga line of Kings had their capital here, formerly for nine centuries. The Cholas captured Talakad in the 11th century and called it Raja Rajapura. But a century later the famous Vishnu Vardhana Hoysala captured it and drove the Cholas out. It is situated on the Cauvery and on the opposite side lay the town of Mallingi. This remained in the hands of the Hoysalas down

An inscription dated Sarvari, S. 1343 (November A.D. 1420), states that when Vira Deva Raya was ruling a peaceful kingdom, Bira Gowda in protecting the cows, died, and his wife made "sati" and obtained *vira swarga.*

We have a *sasana* dated Shubhakritu Sravana Poornima, S. 1344 (August A.D. 1422), which records that Harihara Raya Odeyar, the son of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya, made a grant of the village Maleyur, in the Terakanambi kingdom, to the worship of the god Vijayanatha of Kanakagiri.

Another *sasana* dated Shubhakritu, S. 1344, 5th day of the first half of Aswija (October A.D. 1422), says that when Vira Pratapa Deva Raya, son of Vijaya Raya Maharaya, was ruling in Hastinavati in peace and wisdom, Bulli Deva went to *swarga,* considering that the pleasures of this world are transient.

We have then the important inscription which announces the gifts for the spiritual benefit of Deva Raya, by his son Mahamandalaswara Harihara Raya. This is dated Poornama, in the month of Sravana, of the year Shobhakritu, S. 1344 (August A.D. 1224).*

Vira Pratapa Deva Raya died in the latter part of July A.D. 1422, and that after the obsequies, lasting for over a

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to the middle of the 14th century and then passed into the hands of a feudatory Prince under the Vijayanagar rulers. The old city of Talakad lies buried under the sand, for over a mile, only the tops of two pagodas appear on the sand. There is an anicut and canal called Madhava Mantri anicut and this must have been built there by the Minister of the Vijayanagar Princes, towards the latter part of the 14th century.

* Here the cyclic years seem to be a little out of order. Shobhakritu comes after Shubhakritu. Nos. 159 Chamarajnagar, and No. 24 Gundlepet seem to have been issued on the same day. The Saka year is correctly given in both, but the cyclic years differ. Shu and Sho, have not much difference in Kannada, and as the months, days, and weekdays are the same, there is no doubt whatever that both of them seem to have been issued by Harihara for the spiritual benefit of his illustrious father Deva Raya. The other *sasana*, No. 93 Shikarpur, dated October in the same year, distinctly mentions that Vijaya Raya Maha Raya, son of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling in Hastinavati in peace and wisdom.

fortnight, grants were made for his spiritual benefit by his son Harihara Raya. The next month is Bhadrapada and the latter half of it is called Pitrupaksha in which no good work is usually done among the Hindus. Auspicious days begin with Aswija (October) and we find Vijaya Raya I. ruling in Hastinavati Anagondi—as Vijayanagar was often called. The question of accession to the throne, and the death of Deva Raya I. may now be considered to have been satisfactorily proved in the light of clear documentary evidence.*

A *sasana* dated Chaitra, Shubhakritu, S. 1346 (April A.D. 1422), states that, when Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling in Vidyanagari in peace and prosperity, Sirigirinatha, was protecting Araga under his orders, Gungadharapuri Sripada purchased land of Hennangi, a hamlet of Bukkarajapura and gave it for the use of a chattram (inn).†

Deva Raya's other son Bhaskara, appears to have been ruling in some province, and under his orders, Vittana Odeyar, in order to obtain the four desires of the human existence, made a grant of five villages in the Santaligenad. Vittana is here distinctly stated to have been protecting Araga, Gutti, Barakur, Mangalur, and the Karnataka kingdom as far as the western ocean. ‡

* It is regrettable to note that neither Mr. R. Sewell, nor other Archæologists, took any trouble to sift through the voluminous records to arrive at a historical conclusion about these important events. They may shelter themselves, however, under the difficulties in deciphering the language of the inscriptions.

† The Saka date does not correspond with the cyclic year Shubhakritu. This must be obviously S. 1344 as the year is clearly named.

‡ No. 33, Koppa—Rice.

The four desires of human existence are "Dharma" securing of invisible happiness by Shastraic methods; "Artha" acquisition of wealth by lawful means; "Kama" satisfaction of reasonable desires; and "Moksha" final emancipation and union with Para Brahma. The *sasana* also shows the extensive tracts which were cultivated as gardens, by mentioning 20,000 trees, each of the 20 shares getting a thousand trees. In India, the annual value of a fruit-bearing tree, will be about a rupee.

Vijaya does not seem to have been present at the time of his father's death. He was ruling in Mulvagul. Harihara, who was present at the place, performed the obsequies and granted the villages, as stated.

A few quotations from Ferista, about the wars between Deva Raya and Feroze Shah of Bahmini will have to be made here before this Chapter can be closed. Soon after Deva Raya I. came to the throne, an event of some importance related by Ferista, seems to have occurred. The purport of Ferista's long narrative is given below:—"A farmer's daughter in Mudkal, was of exquisite beauty, and learning. She attracted the admiration of all the neighbouring towns as she was trained by an old Brahmin and became so clever and intelligent that the Brahmin thought that she would make a splendid match for a great sovereign like Deva Raya. He went to Bijanagar, and spoke in such praise of the beauty and accomplishments of the young maid, that Deva Raya fell desperately in love with her and entreated the Brahmin to arrange for the marriage, and sent him back to the girl with costly presents. This was what the Brahmin wanted, and he went back with the rich presents, and informed the parents of the girl of the good news. The parents were overjoyed at such good fortune, but the beautiful virgin, to their great astonishment, refused to receive the offered presents. She cleverly observed, that whoever entered the harem of the Vijayanagar Princes, was not permitted to see her nearest relations and friends, and though they might be happy to sell her for worldly considerations, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to a permanent separation from them, even for all the splendour of the

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Some good trees yield as much as Rs. 50 or 60 per year but those are rare cases. Others yield only four annas on an average. But when a garden is valued the income is fixed by the number of fruit-bearing trees, such as cocoanuts, mangoes, jacks. In arecanut gardens, the average may be fixed at four annas per tree.

palace of Vijayanagar. She gave this declaration accompanied by such affectionate tears and sobs that her parents' hearts were melted and they dismissed the Brahmin with all the presents. He came back to Bijanagar disappointed, and related all that had happened to the Ray; the Prince's love became outrageous, and he resolved to gratify his passions by force. He quitted Bijanagar with a large force, and on his arrival at the banks of the Tumedra, selecting 5,000 of his best horse, marched to Mudkal and surrounded the village were Pertal lived. She was also called Nehal. The King had neglected to send the Brahmin to inform the parents of Pertal to remain there. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Mudkal, and amongst them, the girl and her parents, saw the force of Bijanagar approaching they fled from Mudkal. The troops returned disappointed, but ravaged the country in revenge on the way. They were attacked by superior forces of the Sultan and 2,000 were slain. This led to war." In the winter of A.D. 1406 the Sultan moved in great force and arrived near Bijanagar, in which Deval Ray had shut himself up. He got possession of some streets, which however he was obliged to quit, being attacked and severely repulsed by the Karnatics. Deval Ray encouraged by this success now ventured to encamp his army under protection of the walls and to molest the royal camp. As the Mussalmans could not use their cavalry in the rocky uneven ground round Bijanagar, they were somewhat dispirited.*

During this attack Sultan Feroze Shah was wounded by an arrow in the hand, but he would not dismount, and

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* I have carefully examined the surroundings of Anagondi and Bijanagar. Where the fort walls run on level ground, the Rayas, with a view to prevent the foreign cavalry of its active help, had, strong pointed stones, placed in the ground for over a considerable distance. Many of these may be seen even now, and the enemy could not approach the fortifications under these obstacles and the fire from the ramparts which topped the neighbouring hills.

drawing out the arrow, bound the wound with a cloth. The enemy were at last driven out by the valour and activity of Ahmed Khan and Khan Khanan, and the Sultan moved further from the city to a convenient plain, were he halted till his wounded men recovered. He halted here four months holding the Raya a prisoner in his own capital, while bodies of troops harassed the country, south of Bijanagar, and attacked the fortress of Bankipur. Mr. Sewell observes "that this convenient plain, was probably in the open and rich valley near Hospet, south of the city, for the Sultan could not have ravaged the country to the south, unless he had been master of the whole of this valley for many miles." Bankipur was captured, and the detached armies returned, bringing with them about 60,000 Hindu prisoners, on which the Sultan, left Khan Kanan to hold Bijanagar, while he himself attempted to reduce the important fortress of Adoni; the strongest in possession of the enemy. Deva Raya began to treat for peace, and was compelled to submit to conditions to the last degree humiliating. He agreed to give his daughter to the Sultan in marriage, indemnify him with an immense treasure, and to cede for ever the fort of Bankipur. Ferista says that "though the Rays of the Karnatic had never yet married their daughters, but to persons of their own caste, and giving them to strangers, was highly disgraceful, yet Deval Ray out of necessity, complied. The preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made on a grand scale by both parties. The communication was open for 40 days between the camp of the Sultan and Bijanagar. Both sides of the road were lined with shops and booths, in which the jugglers, drolls, dancers, and mimics of the Karnatic displayed their feats and skill. Khan Khanan and Mir Fazalullah, with the customary presents of a bridegroom, went to the city, from whence, after seven days, they brought the bride with rich dowries from the Ray, to the Sultan's camp. Deval Ray wanted to see the Sultan

and Feroze Shah with great gallantry visited his father-in-law with his bride. On the way he was met by Deval Ray with great pomp. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of six miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin and other rich stuffs. The two Princes rode on horse back together between ranks of beautiful boys and girls who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced, and then threw them to be gathered by the populace. The citizens then made offerings, according to their rank. After passing through a square, directly in the centre of the city, the relations of Deval Ray, who had lined the streets in crowds, made their offerings and joined the cavalcade on foot, and marched with the Princes. On arrival at the palace gate, the Princes dismounted and ascended a magnificent palanquin, set with precious stones, in which they were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom, when Deval Ray took his leave and retired to his own palace. The Sultan was magnificently entertained for three days, and took leave of the Ray, when he was pressed upon with even richer presents, and attended him four miles on his way when he returned to the city. Feroze Shah was enraged at the Ray not going with him to the camp, and said that he would one day have his revenge upon the Ray. Deval Ray, when informed of this declaration made by Feroze Shah, passed some insolent remarks, so that in spite of the family connection, their hatred was not calmed. After this the Sultan returned to his capital, and sending for the lovely Pertal, gave her in marriage to his eldest son Hassan Khan. The latter seems to have been a weak and dissipated Prince. He was heir to the throne, but was ousted by Khan Khanan, brother of Feroze Shah. He lived privately at Ferozebad entirely devoted to indolence and pleasure. Ahmed Shah I. his uncle, treated him kindly, gave him a jaghir and the palace of Ferozebad, with permission to hunt or take his

pleasure, within eight miles round his palace without restriction to time or form. The lazy youth was more satisfied with this permission to indulge in his sensual appetites than with the cares and worries of ruling an empire. After his uncle's death, he was blinded and kept confined in that palace till he died.*

Here we see Mr. Sewell introducing between the years A.D. 1399 to A. D. 1419. Harihara II., Bukka II.,

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* It is a pity, that a clear and logical intellect like that of Mr. Sewell should have gone into hopeless contradictions about the characters who played their parts in the political arena of Vijayanagar at this time. Turning to Mr. Rice, the confusion appears equally prominent. Mr. Sewell says on p. 62 of his "F. E." that " Deva Raya I. lived till at least A. D. 1412 and was succeeded by his son Vira Vijaya, whom Nuniz calls 'Visaya' and who he says reigned six years. The last extant inscription of Deva Raya I. is dated A.D. 1412 to A.D. 1413. The first of his successor Vijaya A.D. 1413 to A.D. 1414. Vijaya's last known inscription is one of A.D. 1416 to A.D. 1417 and the first yet known of his successor his eldest son Deva Raya II. is dated Monday, June 26, A.D. 1424 to A.D. 1425. Nuniz gives Deva Raya II. a reign of 25 years. I am inclined to think that Deva Raya II. began to reign in A.D. 1419 for the following reason. The informants of Nuniz stated that during Vijaya's reign he did nothing worth relating and the Chronicle records, that during the reign which followed, namely that of Deva Raya II., there was constant warfare. Now, we have it from Ferista, that in A.D. 1417 Feroze Shah commenced a war of aggression against Hindus of Telingana. He besieged the fortress of Pangal, 70 miles north-east of Adoni, for a period of two years, but the attempt to reduce it ended in failure owing to a pestilence breaking out amongst both men and horses. Many of the first nobility deserted the camp and fled with their followers to their jaghirs. At this crisis, Deva Raya collected his army and having obtained aid from the surrounding Princes, even to the Raja of Telingana, Warangal, marched against the Sultan with a vast host of horse and foot. This then took place in A.D. 1419 and since this energetic action was not consonant with the character of Vijaya, the *faineant* sovereign, who did nothing worth recording in all his career, we must suppose that it took place as soon as Deva Raya II., his successor, was crowned. If this be correct, the reign of Deva Raya II. granting that it lasted, as stated by Nuniz for 25 years, ended in A.D. 1444." Mr. Sewell gets into further confusion about the death of Deva Raya II. The Sravana Belagola inscription clearly says that Deva Raya II. died in Akshaya S. 1368 or A.D. 1446. I have seen the original and it is clear. In all the inscriptions the full imperial titles are not given. But the genealogies given in many of the inscriptions are distinct and clear on the point of succession of the father and the son. *See* p. 79, " F. E."—Sewell.

Deva Raya I., Vijaya and Deva Raya II. But from indisputable documentary evidence, the death of Harihara II. has been fixed in A.D. 1404, and that of Bukka II. or Deva Raya I. (both being indentical) in July A. D. 1422.

Mr. Rice admits "some confusion" in the history here, but makes no attempt to harmonize the facts in the light thrown by his own inscriptions. He gives Deva Raya I. (Bukka II.) a rule from A.D. 1406 to A.D. 1415 and then brings in his son Vijaya, who is given a reign of one year from A.D. 1416 to A.D. 1417. Deva Raya II. is brought in afterwards with a rule lasting from A.D. 1417 to A.D. 1445.*

Inscriptions in the name of Deva Raya I. are found up to A.D. 1422 and in July of that year we have his death clearly announced by his son Mahamandalaswara Vira Harihara Raya.

It would be silly to neglect authentic facts in the compilation of a valuable history.†

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* "M. G.," Vol. I., pp. 346-347—Rice.

See No. 159 Chamarajnagar.

,, 24 Gundlepet.

,, 93 Shikarpur.

It is strange that Mr. Rice, who collected his materials from his inscriptions, for the history of Vijayanagar, should have fallen into such inaccuracies. He seems to have published them, but apparently he did not go deep into the subject as a historian ought to have done.

† The following inscriptions and copper-plate grants may be perused with advantage by those, who are deeply interested in the investigation of historical events, as they throw great light upon these important facts.

They conclusively prove that Deva Raya I. ruled up to July A.D. 1422.

See No. 217 Tirthahalli, dated A.D. 1415.

,,	29 Sringeri	,,	,,	1416.
,,	35 Sagar	,,	,,	1419.
,,	74 ,,	,,	,,	1420.
,,	168 Tirthahalli	,,	,,	1420.
,,	288 Shikarpur	,,	,,	1420.
,,	144 Tirthahalli	,,	,,	1421.
,,	93 Shikarpur	,,	,,	1422.

,, 144 Chamarajnagar, August A.D. 1422.

,, 159 ,, ,, ,, 1422.

Vijaya ruled for a short time, and therefore there are very few inscriptions connected with his reign. Although Nuniz is entirely wrong in the length of reign he gives to Vijaya, his statement that "nothing worthy to be recorded occurred in his reign" seems to be partly correct. There are no references to wars during his short rule. As Deva Raya I. was a Prince constantly engaged in wars with the Mahomedans, and as he ruled up to A.D. 1422, Mr. Sewell's remarks about the faint-heartedness of Vijaya, are not based upon facts, and cannot be accepted as true. As regards the inscription dated Vilambi, S. 1340, quoted by Mr. Sewell, it is easy to see that Deva Raya I. or his son Vijaya may have made a gift of jewels to the God at Tirvanamalai. It looks probable that Vijaya, as Yuva Raja, was in charge of an important provincial government, whose capital was Mulubagal, but who was entrusted with the government of the whole of the eastern dominions of the Vijayanagar kingdom. This inference is partly confirmed by the fact that when Deva Raya I., died at Vijayanagar, Vijaya was not present, and that the important ceremonies connected with the death of this great Hindu sovereign, were performed by his second son Vira Harihara Raya.*

An interesting fact which strikes a reader of these inscriptions at this age, is the grant of lands, etc., mostly in Nagarkhand, in which is situated Sringeri, containing the *Matt*, of their famous "Kula Guru" Vidyaranya and his successors. Mr. Rice publishes two inscriptions of Vijaya in A.D. 1422 and A.D. 1423, in which he is clearly stated to have been the son of Deva Raya Maha Raya, and still he gives him a reign of one year from A.D. 1416 to A.D. 1417. Mr. Sewell ascribes a grant, dated A.D. 1418 to Vijaya Bhupathi, but despatches him in A.D. 1417. Mr. Rice may kindly read the inscription quoted here from his own publication and reconcile his writings in the light thrown by them.

* Mulubagal appears to have been from very early times the seat of provincial governors. It first formed part of Mahavali or Bana territory. In the 10th century, the Pallavas seem to have included it in their government. It became the seat of a government for the Kolar province, when first brought under the Vijayanagar rulers.

A few remarks on Ferista's narrative of the marriage of Deva Raya's daughter to Feroze Shah, may not be considered here out of place. An unbiassed reader of the events of this period, finds it difficult to believe the stories, so graphically narrated by the Mahomedan historian about this marriage. While his literary flourishes may be admired by his readers, they cannot so easily take in his facts given as a historian, for they are not warranted by natural inferences.

The fact of a powerful Hindu sovereign marrying his daughter to an old Mahomedan Prince—his bitterest enemy—looks on its face highly improbable, unless supported by unmistakable evidence. A careful reader of the progress of the Vijayanagar empire, from its foundation in A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1406, the period when this drama is alleged to have been played, cannot fail to perceive, that in spite of the constant and strenuous efforts on the part of the Bahmini Sultans to annihilate their Hindu neighbours, the Princes of Vijayanagar had always succeeded, not only in keeping the Sultans in proper check, but also considerably extending their empire on all sides. Ferista admits that as early as A.D. 1366, the Rayas of Bijanagar were infinitely the superiors of the Bahmini Sultans. All Southern India and the east coast up to Orissa had acknowledged the supremacy of Vijayanagar. Goa and other seaports were in their possession. They had a navy at Mangalore. Ambassadors from Ceylon, Tennasserim and other kingdoms brought rich presents to the Rayas, with a view to secure their co-operation. The conquests and resources of nearly a century of its existence, must have added immense strength to the stability of Vijayanagar, and the power they possessed to withstand a foreign enemy. All historians are agreed in saying that at this time the Princes of Vijayanagar were immensely superior to the Bahmini Sultans in power, wealth and extent of kingdom.

The northern portions of Vijayanagar, were frequently subjected to the ravages of the Mussalmans, but no instances are quoted where the power of Vijayanagar Kings was crushed in pitched battles, or where they were subjected to any humiliating terms. The Princes and Generals of Vijayanagar always managed to get some advantage out of their wars with the Sultans of Bahmini, and the reader finds that for a period of nearly three centuries after its foundation, the kingdom grew in power, resources and extent. The sovereigns of Vijayanagar assumed imperial titles, and made extensive grants for public and charitable purposes. None of the Princes who ruled up to this period, was found cowardly in spirit, while the valour and military skill of their Generals, were recognised even by their bitter enemies the Mahomedans of Gulburga.

The Princes of Vijayanagar took readily their allotted parts in the field of battle with their sons and nephews.*

The war in A.D. 1366 waged with such fury by Mohomed Shah, ended after all, without any loss to Vijayanagar. The defeats, so graphically attributed to the Hindus by Ferista, do not seem to have produced any political advantages to the conquering Mahomedans. Mujahid reaped no advantage by his war against the Hindus, but actually was driven off. Coming to Harihara II. in A.D. 1399 the results of the bloody war waged by Vijayanagar and Bahmini were, that "the boundaries of the two countries were to be the same as before and each party agreed to observe neutrality towards the subjects of the other." At the time of Deva Raya I. the power of

* In A.D. 1344 Harihara I. with the help of Krishna Naik of Warangal, drove out the Mahomedans from the Deccan, showing unmistakably that even after a few years of its foundation, Vijayanagar was powerful enough to face the fierce Mussalmans and drive them out from their numerous strongholds.

Vijayanagar was thoroughly consolidated. There was no chance for the Bahmini to shake its strength and much less to dictate any humiliating terms to the emperors of Bijanagar. Under these circumstances, it is extremely improbable that a powerful monarch of the Lunar race, every way superior to his enemy, could have persuaded himself to commit such an act of degradation, as to marry his daughter to a Mahomedan foe. Such an act would have brought disgrace to his caste as a Kshatrya, to his position as an Emperor, to his reputation as protecting the Varnashrama Dharmas in his country and to the nobility of his ancient royal family. Hindu Princes of pure Kshatrya descent, have been known to kill their own ladies and children, and then sell their lives as dearly as possible in the field of battle rather than allow them to fall into the hands of their enemies. The Raja of Anagondi did this in his war with Mohomed Toglak.* Ferista's narrative does not in the least disclose political conditions of that extreme necessity which alone could have driven a powerful monarch like Deva Raya, with unlimited resources at his command, to prostitute his daughter to the fading lust of an old Mahomedan Sultan. It is difficult to imagine that Deva Raya could have committed this humiliating act of his own free will and choice, unless compelled by irresistible brutal force. This view is strongly supported by the silence of Paes and Nuniz, in making any references to this remarkable marriage in their narratives. Such a disgraceful event could never have escaped the notice of Abdur Razaak who visited Vijayanagar about 36 years later, and at which period, if this had been a fact, there would have been certainly many eye-witnesses to this event who would have informed the Persian ambassador about it. A Mahomedan ambassador, like Abdur Razaak, would not have omitted to make mention of such a marriage, even if he had heard it as a mere tradition. As he resided for many

* *See* p. 6., Chap. II.

months in the city of Vijayanagar, such a humiliating event, if ever it had been enacted, could not have escaped his notice.*

Ferista's statement that Feroze Shah occupied the streets, and was repulsed and driven out by the Karnatics, speaks a plain truth, that even if Feroze Shah had gained access to the outer lines of defences, he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. His cavalry proved useless before the walls of Vijayanagar, and he moved to a greater distance.†

This proves his inability to approach the defences of the city. Taking Bankapur, with 60,000 helpless prisoners, cannot be considered as such a crushing defeat as to induce or justify the Raya of Bijanagar to prostitute his daughter. Feroze Shah felt deeply insulted when the Raya did not go with him to his camp and threatened revenge. On this, the Raya is alleged, by Ferista, to have passed very insulting remarks against the Sultan. Feroze Shah had come there for war, and he had plenty of it. The marriage connection embittered the feelings between the two sovereigns and if Feroze Shah had really the advantage on his side, and if the Raya had been so helpless as to yield to the last humiliating terms of offering his daughter, it is difficult to see why Vijayanagar was not occupied at once, the revenge taken upon Deva Raya as Feroze Shah vowed and the country annexed to the Bahmini kingdom? If ever the city was

* Ferista admits the incapacity of Feroze Shah when " he commenced a war of aggression against the Hindus, besieged Pangal for two years, but the attempt to reduce it ended in failure." It must be remembered that Adoni was the strongest place in the Bijanagar kingdom, next to the capital, and Pangal was an ordinary fort 70 miles from it. The fortifications of Bijanagar were simply impregnable and the enemy never captured the city when it was defended.

† In order to gain admission to the streets, there must have been very bloody work before such access could be claimed, and Ferista is entirely silent upon this. Feroze Shah, who failed to take Pangal, though he besieged it for two long years with his whole army, could not have gained access to the streets of Bijanagar, by simple magic.

carelessly defended, it was certainly done so during this marriage, and Feroze Shah, instead of impotently treasuring up his revenge, had splendid opportunities to teach a good lesson, to the haughty Raya who dared to pass such insolent remarks against the Sultan. (?) In fact Ferista seems to be hopelessly illogical, and to have inserted a story, which—according to his ideas—added a fresh laurel to the cap of the "merry monarch of the Deccan." It was in the power of Feroze Shah not only to have carried away one daughter of Deva Raya, but as many ladies from his harem, as he wanted, with all the costly jewels which were in their possession. Feroze Shah certainly showed no scruples with regard to the injunctions of his Prophet Mahomed about the number of women he kept in his custody under the vain pretext of satisfying his brutal lust, and he honored his religion more in its breach than in its observance. Ferista remarks with a happy smile on his lips, that Feroze Shah prided himself on the fact of his harem containing a large selection of women from all parts of the world. The whole incident, therefore, seems to have been inserted by Ferista in his history, by way of a set off, as it were, for the deliberate invasion and ravaging of the Bahmini country by Deva Raya I. and for his imaginary lust for the lovely Pertal. *

* Ferista makes Pertal say to the Brahmin her Guru, "that whoever entered the harem of Bijanagar was afterwards not permitted to see even her nearest relations and friends; though they might be happy to sell her for worldly riches, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to eternal absence from them, even for all the splendour of the palace of Bijanagar." (?) These are sentences which would bring honour to the greatest of angels. But Ferista has nothing to put into her mouth and removes all her scruples, when she had to enter the harem of a dissipated Mahomedan Prince, who had no position in life beyond a small jaghir where he was kept as a prisoner. The processes by which this psychological phenomenon was produced in her mind and the undignified fall to which she is made to consent in marrying a Mahomedan, the greatest foe of her nation and religion, are matters which Ferista complacently leaves his readers to infer. She, who had the nobility and the true feminine grace, to reject with contempt the proposals of her Guru, her parents, the costly presents and the

Ferista probably heard some confused traditions, about such love episodes, from his Mahomedan informants two centuries later and eagerly caught at the clue to weave long romance out of it with his usual bias against the hated "infidels" and "men of darkness."*

It has already been shown that Deva Raya I. ruled up to July A.D. 1422; and therefore the battle and other incidents related by Ferista as having occurred in A.D. 1419, must refer to him as he was the Hindu Prince who was ruling then at Vijayanagar. In A.D. 1419 Feroze Shah was thoroughly unsuccessful in his attack on Warangal and the troops of Vijayanagar marched against him. The Sultan gave battle forthwith and "Meer Fazalullah, who commanded the troops of Islam," observes Ferista, "charged the Hindus with great vigour and was on the point of gaining a decisive victory, when one of his own men, bribed by Deval Ray, gave him a mortal wound on the head. The fortune of the day suddenly changed and the Sultan himself managed to escape with great difficulty. The Hindus made a general massacre of the Mahomedans, and erected a platform with the heads of the enemies on the field of battle. They followed the Sultan into his own country, which they wasted with fire and sword, took many places, broke down many mosques and holy places, slaughtered the people without mercy; by their actions seeming to discharge the treasured malice and resentment of ages.

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hand of the greatest ruling Hindu monarch of the day—to marry whom would have been considered as the highest honor to her family, without any loss of caste or social position, is made by Ferista to marry without the slightest objection—a weak-minded Mahomedan Prince, thereby forfeiting all claims to her excellent education, worldly advancement, social honors, religious merit, and personal happiness. His reasoning stands self-condemned and the whole episode smacks of simple invention.

* "When a historian," remarks a writer, "whose primary duty it is to set down facts as they actually happened, with the veracity of an eye-witness, and the uprightness of a judge, deviates from his sacred duty and assumes the air of a partisan, there is no knowing what mass of misrepresentation may creep into his narrations."

Feroze Shah, in the exigence of distress, requested the aid of the Sultan of Guzerat, who having just ascended the throne, could afford none. At last fortune took a more favourable turn to his affairs, and the enemy after repeated battles, were expelled from his dominions by the Sultan's brother Khanan. But these misfortunes dwelt on the mind of Feroze Shah, now very old, and he fell into a lingering disorder and lowness of spirits. Feroze Shah desired the throne for his son Hassan, husband of the beautiful Pertal, but on Khanan taking up arms to support his claims to the throne and advancing to the capital, with the help of most of his nobles, Feroze Shah gave way and nominated him Sultan in his stead. Feroze Shah died on September 24th, A.D. 1422. Khanan became Sultan of Gulburga under the title of Ahmed Shah I."*

Ahmed Shah's first act was to impress the minds of his people with affection to his government. For a few months, he actively engaged himself in strengthening his army with a view to take revenge for the invasions of the Raya of Bijanagar. Having made all military preparations, he advanced to the attack. Sewell says "that Deva Raya's Generals collected their troops, sent for aid to Warangal and marched to the Thungabhadra river where they encamped. From this it appears that they had retired from the Doab after their successful raid. The Sultan arrived on the north bank of the river opposite the Hindu camp and 'leagured' if we may use the term now in fashion." The Sultan halted here for 45 days and surrounded his camp with carriages after the usage of Room (Turkey in Europe) to prevent the enemy's foot from making night attacks.

* Scot's Ferista, p. 95.

Feroze Shah was very old when he died in A.D. 1422, and could not have been a youth in A.D. 1406 to think of love affairs and marriage celebrations with great gallantry, as Ferista tries to make him.

"This will," says Mr. Sewell, "probably be in the dry season at the beginning of the year A.D. 1423, for if the river had been in flood, there would have been no fear of the enemy crossing it." In the early part of the Christian Era, "the river is usually shallow in the open country east of the Hindu capital and away from the hills that surround it having only thin streams running in its rocky bed." Ferista says that the river was fordable then. Ferista now introduces his readers to a dramatic episode, which, if true, reads like a novel. The cavalry of the Sultan crossed the river and ravaged the country of the Raya; who remained inactive. The Sultan determined on a frontal attack, while the troops of Warangal deserted the Raya and withdrew. "Early in the morning," says the Mahomedan historian, "Lodi Khan, Alum Khan and Dilaver Khan, who had marched during the night and forded the river at a distance, reached the environs of the enemy's camp. The Ray was sleeping, attended by only a few persons, in a garden close to which was a thick plantation of sugarcane. A body of the Mussalmans, entered the garden for plunder, and Deval Ray being alarmed, fled almost naked into the sugar-cane plantation. Here he was found by the soldiers, who took him to be a common person, and having loaded him with a bundle of canes obliged him to run with it before them. Deval Ray rejoiced at his being undiscovered, held his peace; and took up the bundle readily hoping that he would be discharged as a poor man; or be able to make his escape. They had not gone far when the alarm of the Sultan having crossed the river and the loss of the Ray filled the camp. The Hindus began to disperse in confusion. The Sultan entered the camp, and Deval Ray's masters hoping now for more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, hastened to join their own friends leaving him to shift for himself. Deval Ray ran with his own troops and about noon came up with some of his nobles, by whom he was recognised and received with great joy. His safety

being made known, his army rallied into some order, but as he regarded the late accident as an ill omen, he laid aside all thoughts of engaging the enemy in the field and fled to Bijanagar. Ahmed Shah, not stopping to besiege the city, overran the open country and wherever he came, put to death men, women and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made by his ancestor Mohomed Shah, with the Rayas of Bijanagar. Laying aside all humanity, whenever the number slaughtered amounted to 20,000 he halted three days and made a festival in celebration of the bloody work. He broke down the idol temples and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmins. During these operations, a body of 5,000 Hindus, enraged to desperation at the destruction to their country and the insults to their gods, united in taking an oath, to sacrifice their lives in attempting to kill the Sultan as the grand author of all their sufferings." They employed spies to watch him, so that they may seize the first favourable opportunity. The Sultan went on a hunt and separated from the body of his attendants, advanced about 12 miles from his camp. The banded "infidels" getting information of this event, at once hastened to intercept him, and arrived in sight, when even his personal attendants, about 200 Moghuls, were at some distance from him. The Sultan, got alarmed and galloped on in hopes of gaining a small mud enclosure, which stood on the plain as a fold for cattle; but was so hotly pursued that some broken ground falling in his way, he was not able to cross it before his pursuers came up. Luckily some archers arrived to his help, so that the enemy were delayed sufficiently to give the Sultan time to reach the enclosure with his friends. The "infidels" attempted to enter, and a sharp fight ensued, all the "faithful" repeating the creed of testimony and swearing to die rather than submit. Their little troop being mostly killed and wounded, the assailants advanced close to the wall, which they began to throw down with pickaxes

and hatchets, so that the Sultan was reduced to the extremity of distress. At this crisis arrived Abdul Kadir, first armour-bearer to the Sultan, and a body of troops with whom, fearful of some accident having happened to occasion his absence, he had left the camp in search of his master. There was a wide breach and the infidels were preparing to enter, when they were suddenly attacked in the rear. The Sultan joined his forces and attacked the enemy, who after a desperate struggle were driven off the field with a loss of a thousand men and about 500 of the Mussalmans attained martyrdom. "It deserves place among the records of time as a remarkable coincidence," says Ferista, "that two sovereigns at the head of their respective armies should fall into such danger for want of numbers and both escape uninjured. Ahmed marched to Bijanagar which he kept so closely blocked up that the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress." Deval Raya, to spare his people, sent ambassadors to the Sultan soliciting peace, to which he consented on condition that he should send the arrears of tribute, laden on his best elephants and escorted by his son. He sent his son with 30 favourite elephants loaded with treasure. The Sultan sent some noblemen to meet him and after being led in ceremony through the market, and the streets of the camp, he was brought to the presence of the Sultan, who embraced him and asked him to sit at the foot of the throne, and putting on his shoulders a magnificent robe, and girding him with a sabre set with precious stones, gave him 20 beautiful horses of various countries, a male elephant, and dogs for the chase and three hawks, which the Karnattikas till then strangers to the use of. The Raya's son accompanied him to the banks of the Krishna and got his dismissal to return.*

* Deva Raya I. died in July A.D. 1422, and Feroze Shah died in September of the same year. The campaign of Ahmed Shah I., therefore, in the commencement of his reign must have been against Vijaya, whose

The character of Deva Raya I. or Bukka II. has to be inferred from the important events, which took place during his reign of 18 years. Like his father, he seems to have been liberal and popular. He was a brave Prince, and a careful statesman. The most important feature of his administration was the attention he bestowed upon the construction of irrigation works, and the dam he placed across the Thungabhadra was a work of great utility then as it is now. He beautified and strengthened the city by fresh and imposing buildings, and strong lines of fortifications. The canal from the river which he brought into the city, not only removed the water difficulty which must have been keenly felt by the large mass of population inside its defences, but also enabled the agricultural and industrial classes, to turn the whole city into an area of smiling gardens. It also seems to have increased his revenue by 14 lacs in the city and its suburbs. He had plenty of wars with his neighbours the Mahomedans, and

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inscription is dated Shubbukrith, S. 1344 (October A.D. 1422). The earliest inscription of Deva Raya II. is dated Krodhi, S. 1345. The month is defaced. The war apparently seems to have been continued during the reigns of Vijaya and Deva Raya II. From the mention of the name of Deva Raya by Ferista, it is probable that Deva Raya II. continued and completed the campaign. The death of Vijaya seems to have taken place before April, A.D. 1423. If so his reign extended only for about eight or nine months. The Prince referred to must have been Mallikarjuna or Virupaksha, probably the former. Mr. Sewell considers that this incident "looks as if he was really paraded with ignominy as a vanquished inferior and so displayed to the Mahomedan troops. If he had desired to do him honor, the Sultan himself would have met the Prince, and personally escorted him as representing his father. Moreover, the Prince was only permitted to sit at the foot of the throne, and was taken almost as a prisoner, for many days with the army till it reached the Krishna river."

See p. 70, "F. E."—Sewell.

When Ferista distinctly says that the Sultan did the Prince honor, there is no necessity to draw other inferences. Deva Raya I., who was compelled to submit to the most degrading terms—according to Ferista—did not go to Feroze Shah's camp and only met him at the fort gate and did not escort him to his camp again. The representative of a sovereign is not the sovereign himself and so far as the narrative goes, the above view seems a little far fetched.

although Ferista attributes some reverses to his arms, his narratives are given the lie direct by those of Abdur Razaak, who visited the city of Bijanagar, about 20 years later, and whose description of the power, splendour, and wealth of the kingdom, could hardly be reconciled with those which Ferista thought fit to publish as historical episodes of Princes, who were defeated, and disgraced at every turn in their wars by the Mahomedans and who paid tribute as subordinate rulers to the independent Sultans of the Bahmini kingdom. It is enough to note that the Persian ambassador was an eye-witness, while Ferista, who had a versatile pen for exaggeration at the cost of the Hindus, wrote his history from information which he obtained two centuries later. Vijaya apparently seems to have ruled as Yuva Raj some years previous to his accession to the throne of Vijayanagar, and probably he took a prominent part in the wars of his illustrious father.

By this time the whole of Southern India was under the sway of Vijayanagar; and this motley collection of various castes and creeds seem to have been treated by the Vijayanagar Princes with singular affection and toleration. Progress in arts and sciences marked the career of this Hindu kingdom, and we begin to see that Sanskrit, Telugu, and Kanarese literature received great encouragement from the rulers of Vijayanagar.

The government seems to have been popular, and the people were contented and loyal. Deva Raya I. seems to have had four sons: Harihara, Vijaya, Mullana, and the son who was murdered by the Cauzy in the dancing affair. Vijaya had two sons, Deva Raya II. and Parvathi Raya, who died in A.D. 1425, and a daughter, Harima, who was married to Saluva Tippa Raja.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Deva Raya II.

In the case of the Vijayanagar sovereigns it frequently happened that the reigns of two Princes, father and son, overlapped each other. The grant of Vira Vijaya Bhupathi, during the reign of his father Deva Raya I., has already been noticed. Deva Raya II. seems to have followed his grandfather Deva Raya I., after a few months of his death, as his father Vijaya ruled only for a short time. The earliest inscription ascribed to this Prince by Mr. Sewell is dated 26th June, A.D. 1424-25. This contains the genealogy of the monarchs, as Bukka I., Harihara II., Deva Raya I., Vijaya and Deva Raya II.*

If Ferista is correct about the date of this war, then Deva Raya II. succeeded his father Vijaya when the war with the Mussalmans was being waged. The close of the campaign may be guessed by the following sentences of Ferista:—He says that "during the year of the Sultan's return to Gulburga, there was a grievous famine in the Deccan, and the next year also, no rain appearing, the people became seditious." These two years were probably extending from 15th December, A.D. 1422 to 23rd November, A.D. 1424. Ferista says that in the year A.H. 828 the Sultan marched against Warangal, over the undulating plains of the Deccan, then rich in crop, and seems to have been thoroughly successful. The Hindu kingdom

* This is a C. P. grant dated Krodhi, S. 1346. *See* p. 253.

It records a grant of a village called Varangana to God Varanganaminatha (Siva) in S. Canara. Another inscription dated S. 1346 (A.D. 1424) east of Varangana Basti, at the Anantha Padmanabha temple of Karkula shows a grant by Deva Raya of Vijayanagar.

of Warangal was completely and for ever destroyed. The date usually given for this event is A.D. 1424.*

Ahmed Shah I. was succeeded by his son Alla-ud-deen II. on 27th February, A.D. 1435, the date of the former's death.

Feri:ta is silent about Vijayanagar affairs till A.D. 1435, when the war broke out afresh between the two neighbouring States, and for particulars during this interval the readers have to depend upon the light thrown on Vijayanagar events by inscriptions left by its Princes.

Vijaya was also called Bukka Raya in an inscription dated Shobhakritu, S. 1346 (May A.D. 1423). Deva Raya II. was otherwise called Immadi Deva Raya and Gaja Bentay Deva Raya. The latter means that he was an expert in elephant hunting. A *sasana* dated Krodhi Kartika, S. 1346 (November A.D. 1424), mentions that during the reign of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya, son of Vira Pratapa Bukka Raya, Bulla Raja made inquiries as to who would undertake the restoration of the Haridra dam, and finding Chama Nripala, who was Commander-in-Chief of Deva Raya's whole army, a devout worshipper of the Linga, a person of agreeable qualities, a Kalpa Druma to eulogists, a Manmatha to young women, fierce in war, skilled in the four modes of policy, protector of righteousness and expert in music— Ballappa thus addressed him. "Haridra dam was constructed by me under the orders of Deva Raya I. and it has breached. There is consequently great loss to God Harihara and distress to the holy Brahmins residing in that Kshetra. There is no one to reconstruct it, more worthy than yourself. You are well acquainted with what Shastras say, as to the unlimited reward of such a work

* Briggs calculates that A.H. 828 corresponds with A.D. 1424, but the year begins in November of that year. The campaign appears to have been of short duration and probably was closed before the end of that year.

of merit. Your Excellency must restore that Dharma." Chama Nripala listened attentively to this eloquent speech and appeal to charity and poured the required funds into the hands of Ballappa for the reconstruction of the breached dam. A *sasana* mentions that Maha Prabhu Bhairava Gowda went to Vaikunta with his wife when Deva Raya was ruling in peace and prosperity in Vijayanagar, and Triumbaka Deva was ruling in Govay Gutti kingdom under his orders.*

An inscription dated Krodhi Magha, S. 1346 (February A.D. 1425) records some purchases by Vittana Dannayaka during the peaceful reign of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya II. On a Jain Basti in Vijayanagar a *sasana* states (S. 1348 or A.D. 1426) that Deva Raya made a grant. In the temple of Kamakshi, in Conjeevaram, there is a private grant dated S. 1349 (A.D. 1427) made during the reign of Vira Deva Maha Raya of Vijayanagar. There is a set of copper-plate grants dated A.D. 1427 evidencing the gift of the village Devarajapuram in the cyclic year Parabhava by Deva Raya Maha Raya to his household priest Narasimha Chary. The genealogy given here, though short, is perfectly accurate. It names Chandra, Yadu, Harihara, Pratapa Deva, Vijaya and Deva Raya.†

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* This *sasana* is dated Shobhakritu Phalguna. The Saka year is not given. The four modes of Policy are (1) "Sama"—processes employed by statesmen to win over their enemies by persuasion, arguments, etc.; (2) "Dana"—offering of money, presents, advantages, etc., to the enemies to win them over; (3) "Danda"—military argument of arms, inflicting defeat, and bringing to terms by force; and (4) "Bhedu"—means used to create differences among the enemies, pitting one party against the other, and causing desertions and betrayals. These are broad principles of policy under which every act of the statesmen of all times and nations may be conveniently introduced. "Kalpa Druma" is a tree in Heaven supposed to satisfy all desires, entertained by men. "Manmatha" is the God of love—Cupid—one generated by thoughts in the mind. *See* pp. 212, 251, 252.

† This is in Nandi Nagari characters and was found buried in Ayal, a village in the Wallajah Taluq. *See* No. 138, Vol. II., and Vol. I., p. 161, "S. I. A."—Sewell.

A copper-plate grant records a gift in Kilaka by the Vijayanagar Prince Deva Raya, of the village of Abhuri to a number of Brahmins of different Gotras and Sutras, at the request of a dependent chief named Maulara, who seems to have been a devoted adherent of the King. The genealogy given here is to the point—Harihara, Deva Raya, Vijaya Bukka, and Deva Raya the grantor.*

These genealogies are very cleverly inserted and are now found to be perfectly true. Harihara II. was succeeded by his son Deva Raya I. He was succeeded by his son Vijaya or Vijaya Bukka. Vijaya was followed by his son Deva Raya II. All researches of the scholars in this direction have confirmed the faithfulness of this genealogy.

A copper-plate issued in the year Sadharana declares the grant of some lands to a temple by Deva Raja under the orders of Deva Raya of Vijayanagar.†

An inscription dated Plavanga (A.D. 1428) declares, that when Maharajadhi Raja Vira Pratapa Harihara Maha Raya seized the royal city of Kareyaputtana, situated

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* No. 87, Vol. II., p. 13, "S. I. A."—Sewell.

Mr. Sewell remarks here that "the genealogy of the King given here differs from that of the grants previously noted in some respects." But he is wisely silent in what way the differences are noticed. So far as I have examined them, they show no difference. Gotra is the genus—as it were, from which Brahmins claim their descent. Even in these days, marriages are strictly prohibited, among families who claim descent from the same Gotra. These are named after the great Maharishis and Rishis who were celebrated for their Tappas or contemplation on God. Sutras are the principles of conduct in the performance of rituals, which have been arranged by the great Rishis. Thus Brahmins belong to Vasista, Bharadwaja, Angirasa, Salankayana, Atrayasa, etc., Gotras. The most famous Sutra Karas are Bodhayana, Aswalayana, Apastambha, etc.

This is dated S. 1351 (A.D. 1429) and is in the Collector's Office, Nellore.

† This grant has been taken from the Collector's Office, S. Canara, and is now deposited in the Madras Museum. It bears the date S. 1352 or A.D. 1430. Deva Raja must have been a local chief or some governor who acted under the orders of the Maharaja Deva Raya II.

in the west of Abhi Nava Jambu Dwipa, Kamayee, and her children, who had to leave that city during its capture were taken care of by Kundikeri Byra Naika. Kamayee's son, Jakka Deva, had built a tank in S. 1339 (A.D. 1417) to the south of the river called Meddari Halla to the south of Hiryur and set up a God called Someswara, and when his mother, Kamayee, died in A.D. 1428, he made grants for her spiritual benefit.*

We hear of this Harihara again in the year Parthiva, S. 1357 (A.D. 1435) where he is invested with all the imperial titles, and is said to have been ruling in Vidyanagari in peace and wisdom. Under his orders one Singayya Naika of Bidari made a grant to God Lukshminarasimha. Another *sasana* dated Dundubhi, S. 1365 (A.D. 1443) declares that Maha Rajadhi Raja Raja Parameswara Chatusamudradhi Pathi Vira Bukka Raya's son Harihara Raya, was ruling in the city of Vijayanagar in peace and wisdom, a dispute arose between the sons of some Nâika. Here it seems to be plain that Mahamandalaswara Harihara Raya, brother of Vijaya and uncle of Deva Raya II. was ruling now and then in Vidyanagari and made grants. Deva Raya II. was probably young at the time of his accession, and was mostly supported in his administration by his able and experienced uncle Harihara, who appears to have been not only a man of great military talents, but also possessed of

* Harihara here probably refers to Vira Harihara Mahamandalaswara, son of Deva Raya I., whose obsequies were performed by the former. He seems to have captured Kareyaputtana, which is here called a Maha Rajadhani—a great royal city, and in the confusion, Payana, its ruler, seems to have been killed and his wife Kamayee and her children Jekka Deva, etc., escaped and were subsequently protected by Byra Naika, who was probably a local Chief of some importance in Hiryur and the surrounding tracts. The Poligars of Chitaldroog were first Naiks under the Vijayanagar Princes and they ruled over Hiryur also. *See* p. 256.

considerable ability in carrying on the work of civil administration.*

A *sasana* under date Sadharana, S. 1352 (A.D. 1430) gives a complete genealogy of the Kings of Vijayanagar together with their queens. It says that Bukka was the most prominent among the sons of Sangama and to whom by Tarambika was born Harihara (II). His son was Pratapa Deva Raya (I) to whom by Hemambika was born Vijaya Bhupathi. His queen was Narayanambika who bore to him a son Deva Raya (II). It declares that the Princes of Anga, Vanga Kalinga, etc., waited upon him and that he had 10,000 Turuka horsemen in his service. Another *sasana* dated Soumya, S. 1353 (A.D 1431) declares that Deva Raya II. was the son of Vijaya and that he had an elder sister named Harima who was married to Saluva Thippa Raja of the Lunar race.†

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* From this it appears that Harihara took a prominent part during the reigns of his father Deva Raya I., his brother Vijaya, and his nephew Deva Raya II., like his great grandfather the famous Bukka I. He seems to have been endowed with a rare capacity for managing the State affairs, along with the Princes who sat on the throne as Bukka I. did during the time of his elder brother Harihara I. This proves the existence of the spirit of union and loyalty among the Princes of Vijayanagar. It further confirms the identity of Bukka II. with Deva Raya I.

It is difficult to identify Kareyyapattana. It must have formed the capital of a powerful line of Kings, in the Western Coast. When Harihara reduced the kingdom and captured the capital, its Prince seems to have been killed while his wife and sons escaped and sought protection from a neighbouring Chief. No. 31 Shimoga, No. 14 Hiryur, "E. C."—Rice.

† Saluva Thippa Raja is called in the inscription "Raya Bha-u-Hatta Malla" probably a title of great political distinction. Mr. Rice translates this with the help of his Pundits as "Chief of the Royal Spies." But the words in the phrase, do not apparently carry such signification. Being an husband of the King's elder sister, and probably endowed with some natural abilities, it may be possible to imagine that he headed a department, which had great political significance. It is an admitted fact that the intelligence department and the royal spies played during those days very important parts and these were generally men of extraordinary abilities and political shrewdness. *See* No. 15 Seringapatam; No. 29 Chitaldroog; No. 52 Hiryur; No. 31. Shimoga; "E. C."—Rice. The cyclic years given in these *sasanas* have to be carefully noted as they offer some confusion to the beginners.

An inscription of Virodhi Kritu, S. 1353 (A.D. 1431) states that when Rajadhi Raja, etc., Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was protecting Vijayanagar empire in peace and prosperity, the ruler of Arga, under the Maharaja's orders granted lands for the maintenance of a Dharma Chuttra established by Gungadhara Puri Sripada.

A *sasana* dated Parividhavi, S. 1354 (A.D. 1432) states that when Deva Raya II. was ruling in Hampi Hastinavati —Vijayanagari—the champion over three Kings, Hiryakattigi Amarayanaika's sons were ruling in Vijaya Somanatha Pura (Nuggihalli), the manager of his house, Chickka Bhimana, assembled the Brahmins and caused Samprokshana to be made to God Sadasiva.*

An inscription dated Ananda, S. 1356 (A.D. 1434) states that Deva Raya Maha Raya, when he went to Manchanahalli for hunting purposes, paid a visit to God Rama and granted a village for his maintenance.†

An inscription dated Dundubhi, S. 1364 (A.D. 1442), states that in the reign of Immadi Deva Raya, Baicharsa and Surappa Naika, blocked up the town of Kappugiri, and died in its siege.

A *sasana* dated Durmati, S. 1363 (A.D. 1441) declares that when Immadi Deva Raya was ruling in Vijayanagiri, the Maha Prabhu Baichappa Gowda who supplied gunpowder to Nandagirinad Raja, slew some powerful enemies and went to *swarga*.‡

* No. 241 Chennarayapatna ; No. 1 Tirthahalli, "E. C."—Rice. This is a ceremony by which the images set up in temples are either purified from pollution or are established with due solemnity.

† No. 32 Molkulmuru, "E. C."—Rice.

‡ Nandagiri is the famous Nandidroog, which was captured by Lord Cornwallis on his march to Seringapatam. From the very early times the Ganga Princes possessed the title of "Nandagiri Lords." Nandagiri, which means "hill of pleasure" was changed into Nandi-Giri by the Cholas in the 11th century, and it means the hill of Nandi—the name of the sacred bull of Siva. The temple of Bhoga Nandiswara, at the foot of this

An inscription dated Krodhana, S. 1374 (A.D. 1445), contains the genealogy of Deva Raya II. and as he died in A.D. 1446, the next inscription brings the genealogy down to his son Mallikarjuna.

It is important as giving some details of Deva Raya's conquests and power over the neighbouring Princes. When Deva Raya II. was engaged in battle the faces of the Turukas shrivelled up. The Konkana King, Sancha, was terrified, the Andhras ran into frontier hills, the Ghoorjaras were paralysed, the Kanoujas lost their courage, and the Kalingas were broken. The sovereigns of Anga, Vanga, Kanouja, Kambhoja and Nepala were his servants, doing the menial service of holding his umbrella, chamara, stick or vessel. Deva Raya changed the name of Manangi into the new name of Lukshmi Narayanapura and gave it to his Acharya. His mother's name was Narayanambika, and this was probably changed in honour of his mother.*

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precipitous hill seems to have been in existence from the Pallava, Chola and Hoysala times and probably was of even earlier date. This is a fortified hill 4 miles to the south-west of Chickballapur, and contains a plateau, sloping to the west. There is an excellent lake, called the Amritsarowar, which contains very fine steps on all sides, with clear water. I have seen these series of hills, and they are worth a visit. The ruins of extensive fortifications now seen were erected by Hyder and Tippu, probably strengthening those which the Chickballapur Poligars had erected in the earlier periods. During the Vijayanagar sovereignty these hills with their strongholds seem to have been placed under the immediate authority of the Mulvagal governors—one of whom we have seen was Prince Vijaya—at the time of his father's death.—*See* p. 264.

* The mention of distant countries like Nepal, Kanouj, etc., raises some doubts regarding the extent and power of these Vijayanagar Princes. Though it is difficult to believe that the conquests of Vijayanagar sovereigns extended to those distant countries, yet it looks probable, that Kings from distant countries, might have courted the favour of the powerful monarchs of Vijayanagar, and with a view to secure their alliance against the aggressions of the Mahomedans, may have sent their deputies, with costly presents. These representatives of distant kingdoms, may have felt proud to discharge the functions mentioned in the *sasanas*.

Krodhana corresponds with S. 1367 and not with A.D. 1374 cyclic year. The words used in it for the figures of the Saka year are Sindhu—Adri—Rama—Chandra—which, when read in the reverse order, imply

A *sasana* dated S. 1353 (A.D. 1431) on a slab close to the inner Gopura of an old temple in Nandalur records a grant by Deva Raya of Vijayanagar.*

Turning now to Ferista the following information may be gathered :—

"Alla-ud-deen's first act was to despatch his brother Mohomed Khan with a powerful army against Deva Raya of Bijanagar, who was alleged to have withheld his tribute for five years, and to have refused to pay his arrears. They laid waste the country in such a ferocious manner that the Ray in a short time was glad to make peace by giving 20 elephants, a large sum of money, and 200 female slaves skilled in music and dancing, besides a valuable present to Mohomed Khan."

"Flushed with this victory," says Ferista, "and in command of a large army, Prince Mohomed rebelled against his brother, through the instigation of Deva Raya. Mohomed took Mudkal, Roijore, Sholapur, Bijapur and Naldirak from the Sultan's governors, but in a pitched battle with the royal forces he was completely defeated and fled. Shortly after, however, he was forgiven by his generous brother and the fortress and territories of Roijore were conferred on him." About the year A.D. 1442 Deva Raya began to consider very seriously his position in relation with his powerful neighbour at Gulburga. He called a general council of his nobles and principal Brahmin advisers, and observed to them, that as his country of the Karnatic far exceeded the territories of the house of Bahmini and as his forces and resources were

A.D. 1374. *Ari*, as suggested by Rice, will do well, but the meatre will be spoiled. It would be useless to speculate, about the scholar who wrote the inscription in such fine Sanscrit and think that he could have laboured without success for a word denoting "6" in that language. Some mistake seems to have crept in. *Sindhu* means 4, but Mr. Rice puts for it 7. He may have some authority for it. No. 200 Tirthahalli, "E. C."—Rice.

* P. 131, Vol. I., "S. I. A."—Sewell.

greater than those of its Princes, he asked them to find out the causes for Mussalman successes and the defeats of the Hindus. Some ascribed the defeats to the superiority of the Mussalman cavalry on account of the good breed of their horses, as against the ill-bred country mounts of the Karnatic; others said that the Sultans always kept a large body of excellent archers in their service, while there were only a few in the service of the Ray. After an examination of the causes, Deva Raya gave orders for the entertainment of Mussalmans in his service, allotted them jagirs, built mosques for their use in the city of Bijanagar, and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion.*

He ordered a copy of the Khoran to be placed near his throne on a rich desk, so that the Mahomedans might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without violating their religious codes. He made all the Hindu soldiers to learn the discipline of the bow, in which he and his officers used such exertions, that in course of time he had 2,000 Mussalmans and 60,000 Hindu archers, well skilled in the use of the bows and arrows, besides 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot armed with pikes and lances. Between November A.D. 1442 and April A.D. 1443 a desperate attempt seems to have been made on the life of Deva Raya II. by one of his closest relations. Abdur Razaak, who was a contemporary of this event, gives the following graphic account of this attempt on the Emperor's life.

* Ruins of mosques may be seen even now by the traveller to Bijanagar. It has already been shown that the Rayas of Vijayanagar were thoroughly tolerant in religious matters, and dealt with different sections of the huge population, subjected to their sway, in a manner, that would reflect great credit upon the most enlightened monarchs of the present day. They had the best interests of their country at heart and when any religious disputes arose between different creeds, they settled those

The Persian ambassador thus begins: "During the time that the author of this narrative was still sojourning at Calicut, there happened in the city of Bijanagar an extraordinary and most singular occurrence. The King's brother, who had a new house built for himself, invited thither, the monarch and the principal personages of the empire. Now it is an established usage of the infidels never to eat in the presence of each other. The men who were invited were assembled together in one grand hall. At short intervals the Prince either came in person or sent some messenger to say that such and such great personage should come and eat his part of the banquet. Care had been taken to bring together all the drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, and flutes that could be found in the city and these instruments playing all at the same time made a tremendous uproar.

As soon as the individual sent for entered the above mentioned house, two assassins placed in ambush, sprang out upon him, pierced him with a poignard and cut him to pieces. After having removed his limbs or rather the fragments of his body, they sent for another guest who, once having entered this place of carnage, disappeared. In consequence of the noise of the drums, the clamour and the tumult, no one was aware of what was going on. In this manner all those who had any name or rank in the State were slaughtered. The Prince leaving his house, all reeking with the blood of his victims, betook himself to the King's palace and addressing himself to the guards, who

differences with great tact and readiness. Their farsight as statesmen, can be judged by the wise measures they introduced into their regulations and government. Deva Raya II. seems to have been specially gifted with political tact and when he learnt that the entertainment of Mussalmans into his army would give it efficiency and tone, he went to the length of even sacrificing his royal dignity as an emperor, by allowing the Mussalmans to practice their religious rites unmolested and ever condescended to waive his right to the royal salute by the Mussalman servants by allowing them to show their respect to a copy of the "Khoran" which he placed in front of his throne.

were stationed in that royal residence, invited them with flattering words, to go to his house and caused them to follow the steps of the other victims, so that the palace was thus deprived of all its defenders. This villain then entered into the King's presence, holding in his hand, a dish covered with betel-nut under which was concealed a brilliant poignard. He said to the monarch "the hall is ready and they only wait your august presence." The King following the maxim, which declares that eminent men receive an inspiration from heaven, said to him, "I am not in good health to-day"; this unnatural brother thus losing the hope of enticing the King to his house, drew his sword and struck therewith several violent blows, so that the Prince fell at the back of his throne. The traitor thus believing that the King was dead, left there one of his confidants to cut off the monarch's head. Then going out of the hall, he ascended the portico of the palace and thus addressed the people: "I have slain the King, his brothers, and such and such amirs and Brahmins and viziers. Now I am King." Meanwhile his emissary had approached the throne with the intention of cutting off the King's head, but that Prince, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, struck the wretch with it with such force on the chest as to cause him to fall on his back. The King then with the help of one of his guards, who, at the sight of this horrible transaction, had hidden himself in a corner, slew this assassin and went out of the palace by way of the harem. His brother still standing on the steps of the hall of council, invited the multitude to recognise him as their King. At that moment the monarch cried out "I am alive. I am well and safe. Seize that wretch." The whole crowd assembled together seized upon the guilty Prince and put him to death. The only one who escaped was Dannaik, the vizier, who, previously to this sad event, had gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon. The King sent a courier to him to return and informed him of what had just

occurred. All those who had in any way aided in the conspiracy were put to death., Men in great numbers were slain, flayed, and burnt alive and their families entirely exterminated. The man who had brought the letters of invitation was put to the last degree of torture.*

Abdur Razaak declares that "during the second half of the year A.D. 1443, Dannaik, the vizier, set out on an expedition into the kingdom of Gulburga. The reasons for this invasion were as follows: Sultan Alla-ud-deen had heard of the treacherous attempt to kill the King of Bijanagar and the murder of the nobles and the principal people; and he had sent a message to the King demanding payment of seven lacs of varahas, as he thought the moment auspicious for an attempt to crush the kingdom. Deva Raya was equally troubled and irritated by the receipt of such a message. But he sent a brave answer and prepared for war. Troops were sent out on both sides which made great ravages on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. Dannaik after having made an invasion upon the frontiers of the country of Gulburga and taken several unfortunate prisoners had retraced his steps." Ferista says referring to this war "that Deva Raya

* Nuniz, who had been inaccurate all along his narrative about the early rulers of Bijanagar, states that this King's son was attacked by his nephew, and died six months later and was succeeded by his son. But Abdul Razaak declares that he was presented in person to Deva Raya II. about the month of December A.D. 1443. Nuniz does not further mention the name of Deva Raya's grandson, nor the length of his reign. He dismisses him with a useless remark that "the King did nothing worth relating, except giving enormous charities to temples." Nuniz dates from his reign the commencement of his troubles that led to the usurpation of Narasimha and the downfall of the first dynasty.

A student who carefully reads the biographies of great men finds that they do get some suggestions from unknown sources when they are desperately situated or when treachery follows them to do its nasty work. During such critical moments, Napoleon, Caesar, Robert Bruce, Hyder, Sivaji, DeWet, and other great leaders escaped danger by suddenly changing their arrangements and acting under, what may be callod inspired suggestions from unseen sources.

wantonly attacked the Bahmini Princes, crossed the Tumedra suddenly, took the fortress of Mudkal, sent his sons to besiege Raichore and Bunkapur, encamped himself along the bank of the Krishna, and sent out detachments who plundered the country as far as Sauger and Bijapur laying waste by fire and sword. Alla-ud-deen, upon intelligence of this invasion, prepared to repel it and commanded all his forces from Telingana, Dowlatabad, and Berar, to repair to the capital of Ahmedabad without delay. Upon their arrival he reviewed the whole and found his army composed of 50,000 horse, 60,000 foot and a considerable train of artillery. With this force he began to march against the enemy and Deva Raya upon his approach shifted his ground, and encamped under the walls of the fortress of Mudkal, detaching a large body to harass the Sultan. The Sultan halted at the distance of 12 miles from Mudkal and despatched Mallik-al Tijar with the troops of Dowlatabad against the sons of Deva Raya; also Khan Zummaun, Governor of Bijapur, and Khan Azim, commander of the forces of Berar and Telingana against the main body of the enemy. Mallik going first to Raichore gave battle to the eldest son of Devâ Raya, who was wounded in the action and fled towards Beekapur from whence he was joined by his younger brother, who quitted the siege of that fortress. In the space of two months three actions happened near Mudkal between the two grand armies, in the first of which multitudes were slain on both sides, and the Hindus having the advantage, the Mussalmans experienced great difficulties. The Sultan was successful in the others, and in the last the eldest son of Deva Raya was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zummaun, which event struck the Hindus with panic and they fled with the greatest precipitation into the fortress of Mudkal."

Two principal Mussalman officers in the ardour of pursuit, entered the city of the fugitives and were captured

by the Hindus. "On this," it is alleged by Ferista, "that Deva Raya sent a message to the Sultan, that if he would promise never again to molest his territories he would pay the stipulated tribute annually and return the two prisoners. This was accepted and a treaty was drawn up, and the prisoners returned with the tribute and added presents. Until the end of Deva Raya's reign both parties observed the agreement."

The campaign, according to the various accounts, must have been of short duration, since, while it began in A. H. 847 (May A.D. 1443 to April A.D. 1444), according to Ferista, it was over by December A.D. 1443, when Abdur Razaak left Vijayanagar. From other records we find that Deva Raya was very young at his accession in A.D. 1423. In A.D. 1443 he had already reigned 20 years. Abdur Razaak says that he was presented to Deva Raya in person in A.D. 1443. According to the India Office copy the King is stated to have been exceedingly young at the date of Abdur Razaak's visit. This difficulty may be easily got over, by imagining that the Persian ambassador may have been presented to one of the sons of the ruling monarch.*

An inscription dated Parabhava S. 1349 (6th October A.D. 1426), states that Deva Raya caused a Jain temple to be erected in Vijayanagar, in the street called the "Pansupari" bazaar. This is within the palace enclosure, and close to the rear of the elephant's stables still standing. The full imperial titles are mentioned in this *sasana*. The site of this bazaar is definitely established. It seems

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* Ferista's narrative here seems to be against the recorded evidence of Abdur Razaak.

If Deva Raya's sons were in charge of independent divisions of Vijayanagar forces and were ordered by the King to reduce the strongholds in the possession of the enemy, the monarch could not have been less than 40 years old at the time to have grown-up sons to lead armies on the battle field. Abdur Razaak distinctly says that Deva Raya looked young. Ferista was probably misled in his information about the relation of the Princes, who took a prominent part in that war.

to have lain on either side of the road running along the level ground direct from the palace gate, near the temple of Hazar Ramaswami, in a north-easterly direction to meet the road which now runs to the Thungabhadra Ferry, through the fortified gate on the southern side of the river immediately opposite to Anagondi.*

In A D. 1430 Deva Raya II. made a grant to a temple far in the south in the Tanjore District. There are two inscriptions of his reign dated respectively A.D. 1433-34 and A.D. 1434-35 at Pada Vedu, in North Arcot, which give full imperial titles to the King.†

An inscription dated S. 1358 (A.D. 1436), on a stone near a temple two miles north of Anagondi, records a grant by Deva Raya II. A *sasana* dated S. 1359 (A.D. 1437), on a stone leaning against the wall of the temple of Hanuman in Vijayanagar declares a grant by that monarch. Another inscription dated A.D. 1438, in the Kamakshi temple in Conjeevaram, records a private grant during the reign of Vira Deva Raya Maha Raya of Vijayanagar. A *sasana* dated S. 1360 (A.D. 1438), found in the Siva temple at Tirumalai in the Madura District declares a grant during the reign of Vira Pratapa Deva Maha Raya. This shows at how early a period the Kings of Vijayanagar acquired power in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula. On the top of the hill here, a very large old cannon may be seen even at this day. A *sasana* under date S. 1367 (A.D. 1445), found in the Durga temple in Uppunda near Kundapur records a grant by Vira Deva Raya of Vijayanagar and an Odeyar of Barakuru.‡

* "It passed along the north side of the Kallamma and the Rungaswami temples, leaving the imperial office enclosure, with its lofty walls and watch towers and the elephant's stables on the left, skirted the Jain tempie and passed along under the rocky hills, that bound this plain on the north till it debouched on the main road above mentioned. This street would be the direct approach from the old city of Anagondi to the King's palace." *See* p. 78, "F. E."—Sewell.

† *See* Hultzsch's "S. I. Inscriptions," Vol. I., p. 19.

‡ *See* "S. I. An.," Vol. I., pp. 107, 181, 250, 297—Sewell.

There is an inscription at Tanjore, dated A.D. 1446, which mentions the name of Deva Raya, but gives no further royal titles than the Biruda "lord of the four oceans." *

* Mr. Sewell says that "there is an inscription dated 2nd August, A.D. 1449 at Conjeevaram recording a grant by a King called Vira Pratapa Immadi Deva Raya to whom full royal titles are given. It is provoking that Nuniz omits the name of the successor of Deva Raya II., as known to tradition in the 16th century; for this might have helped us to a decision. At present it looks as though there had been a Deva Raya III. reigning from A.D. 1444 to A.D. 1449. But this point cannot as yet be settled." Pp. 79—80, "F. E."—Sewell.

Mr. Sewell is strangely inconsistent. He quotes on page 79 of his "F. E." an inscription published by Dr. Kielhorn in his "I. An." Vol. XXV., p. 346, which distinctly says that Deva Raya died in Kshaya, S. 1368 (May A.D. 1446), on Tuesday, the 14th day of the dark half of the month Vaisakha. The translation he gives is highly coloured. The *sasana* referred to is found in Rice's collection of Sravana Belagolu inscriptions (Ed. 1889), p. 123, No. 125. I have read the original carefully and it simply states that the "Mine of valour Pratapa Deva Raya died on a Tuesday on the dark Chaturdasi in Vaisakha in the year Kshaya and alas! who can escape from death?" The addition of forcible terms "evil, wretched and miserable" quoted by Sewell on p. 79 of his book seems to have been the productions of an excited translator. In the original these words are sadly wanting. Mr. Sewell's remarks on Nuniz seem to be a repetition of his confidence in that Portuguese Chronicler, who has been found to be utterly untrustworthy in his records of the dates of succession of the early rulers of Vijayanagar. After quoting Dr. Keilhorn's clear inscription about the death of Deva Raya II. in A.D. 1446 what justifies Mr. Sewell to place faith on a shaky Chronicler like Nuniz, is really puzzling. Mr. Sewell seems to belittle the title "lord of the four oceans." It is not necessary to give details of State paraphernalia, when a man is given the title of an emperor or monarch. No imperial titles could express higher dignity than the Biruda, "lord of the four oceans."

Nuniz refers this stabbing incident to Pina Rao, son of Deva Raya, and states that he died six months later from the effects of poison. Sewell observes rightly that "Abdur Razaak, more reliable because he was not only a contemporary but was at Vijayanagar at the time, relates the same anecdote, of Deva Raya II., himself, making the would-be assassin his brother and definitely fixing the date beyond the shadow of doubt." Mr. Sewell is wrong when he says that "Nuniz has not given the name of Deva Raya's son, nor yet the length of his reign"; as he contradicts his inference on page 302 of his book by saying that "Pina Rao succeeded Deva Rao, and he reigned for 12 years." It was this Pina Rao's son who is not named by Nuniz, and who made extensive charities to the temples. Nuniz makes Virupaksha Rao the great grandson of Deva Raya II., whereas

Mr. Sewell's observations as regards the death of Deva Raya II. and his introduction of a new reign from A.D 1444 to A.D. 1449 of Deva Raya III. before Mallikarjuna will be found to be incorrect in the light of the following documentary evidence:—An inscription under date Prabhava, S. 1370 (A.D. 1447) gives the correct genealogy of the royal family down to Mallikarjuna, who was then ruling, and this Prince is there clearly called Immadi Deva Raya. He bestows gifts in the presence of Virupaksha and grants Hagalahalli belonging to Kannambadi in the Hoysana country to a Brahmin called Devara Bhatta. It further proves that Mallikarjuna, son and successor of Deva Raya II., was ruling in December A.D. 1447, and that no reign of any other sovereign intervened between Deva Raya II. and his son Mallikarjuna. The genealogy given in this *sasana* runs thus, and brings the Vijayanagar Princes correctly down to the ruling sovereign Mallikarjuna. In the Yadu Vamsa was born the excellent King Sangama. His son was the famous Bukka before whose valour a hundred Kings quivered. From him sprang Harihara II., celebrated for his unbounded charities. From him came Deva Raya, before whom the enemies disappeared fast. His son Vijaya followed him on the throne and from Vijaya came his son Deva Raya II. His son was Immadi Deva Raya or Mallikarjuna, the monarch who sat on the throne of Vijayanagar and who was the present donor. It is not possible to have clearer evidence than this regarding the date of Deva Raya II.'s death or the succession of his son Mallikarjuna, who also was called Immadi Deva Raya. Mr. Sewell's statement that Deva Raya II. died in A.D. 1444 is based on false premises and is incorrect.*

all discovered inscriptions and archæological researches make him appear as the second son of Deva Raya, who inherited his kingdom from his elder brother Mallikarjuna. *See* pp. 63, 64, 74, 79, 80, 304, "F. E."—Sewell.

* No. 11 Seringapatam, "E. C."—Rice.

A description of the city of Vijayanagar during the time of Deva Raya II., will be given in the next Chapter. The character of Deva Raya II. does not seem to differ much from his ancestor Deva Raya I. He seems to have been young at the time of his accession to the throne and ruled the kingdom successfully for 23 years with the help of his paternal uncle Harihara Maha Mandalaswara. The invasions of the Mussalmans were kept in check or opportunity repelled and he seems to have wielded supremacy over the whole of Southern India as well as portions of the Deccan and the East Coast. He employed Mahomedans in his service, and seems to have introduced the latest improvements into the military organization. From what has been stated by Ferista, the Sultans of Gulburga, seem to have possessed good cavalry and well skilled archers, and probably their successes were attributable to their superiority in horses, their feelings of patriotism, and their well trained archers. Like a wise and farsighted Prince Deva Raya took counsel from his nobles and Brahmin advisers and improved the tone of his military service.

The palace establishment seems to have been maintained on a very grand scale, and his territories and revenues were greater than those of any other Prince in India. The system of administration readily recommended itself to the needs of the population and the masses appear to have been loyal and contented. Deva Raya had the special title of "Gaja Bentakara" or elephant hunter, and from this and other records it may be presumed that he himself was a good shot, a brave warrior, and a kind-hearted and charitable Prince. He appears to have made frequent tours in his territories and made gifts in the extreme south of Tanjore as well as in the northern Districts of Telingana. The incident related of his attempted assassination, proves also that the King was personally brave, and

seems to have possessed great presence of mind during times of danger. It is regrettable to note that the Princes of the royal family who remained faithful to each other for a century after its foundation, should have been ill-advised to quarrel among themselves, and from this time, the Kings of the first dynasty, appear to have lost confidence in the attachment and loyalty of the members of their royal family. He had two sons, Mallikarjuna and Virapaksha, both of whom sat on the throne of Vijayanagar afterwards. It is a strange coincidence to observe that while the brother of Dêva Raya II. made an attempt on his life, the brother of the Sultan of Gulburga openly rebelled against him, ravaged his territories, captured several strongholds, and was finally defeated in a pitched battle by the royal forces. In both cases the traitors met their deserved reward. As regards the payment of tribute by the Hindu Princes to the Sultans of Gulburga, the readers of the Vijayanagar history find it difficult to reconcile Ferista's statement with the greatness and continued successes of this grand Hindu empire. A plea for tribute may easily have been advanced, when either party wanted to rush into war, but that such a great Hindu empire with immense resources, could ever have been really compelled to agree to accept the terms of a Mahomedan State, is a matter on which further light must be thrown before it could be accepted as a historical fact.

The tribute alleged to be paid by the Princes of Bijanagar to the Sultans of Gulburga appears now and then in Ferista's narrative of events. He never shows clearly in what battle, and between which Kings it originally began or the extent to which Vijayanagar Princes bound themselves to pay. Of course, in political codes, honesty of performance, of the terms of a treaty, always depends upon the relative strength of the contending parties, and the opportunities which present themselves

for their aggrandisement, as the tribunal for the adjustment of those claims will have to be finally the court-of-arms. Seven lacs of *varahas* have been mentioned as the sum due for some years of the tribute by Ferista. This would be about 20 lacs of rupees. A great Hindu empire, extending from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin, and from the East to the West Coast, produced certainly a large revenue, and must have possessed enormous wealth and resources. That from such a rich State, the conquering and the needy Mahomedan Sultans of Gulburga, if really they were successful in their frequent wars, against the Hindus, should have condescended to accept such a paltry sum of 7 lacs of *varahas*, as the tribute due for four or five years is a significant fact, which has to be carefully weighed in the balance, before it can be introduced into the field of historical facts, for acceptance. Deva Raya I. brought a canal to Vijayanagar and the city gave him 3½ lacs of *varahas* from its introduction. If really the Mahomedans were successful as often as Ferista gives them credit for and if they had inflicted as crushing defeats on the "men of darkness" as he says they did, then the terms of the treaty would have been far more exacting than what he desires his readers to believe.*

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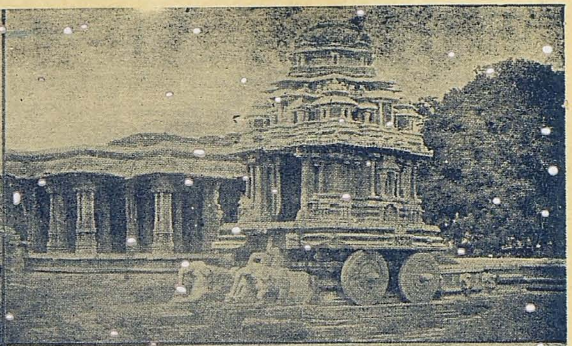
* Nuniz observes "that Deva Rao II. reigned 25 years. He determined to collect great treasures, but owing to constant warfare he could not gain more than 850,000,000 of gold, not counting precious stones. This was no great sum, seeing that in his time the King of Coullao, and Ceyllao, and Puleacate, and Pegu, and Tonacary and many other countries paid tribute to him." By gold Nuniz means certainly *varahas* each of which may be taken at the lowest value as equivalent to 3 rupees. The treasure collected by Deva Raya II. was therefore worth about 225 crores of rupees besides precious stones, whose value must certainly have been many crores. Nuniz directly supports the *sasanas* which refer to distant Princes as serving under these Vijayanagar emperors. It looks therefore highly improbable that the Mahomedans, if really successful against Vijayanagar, could have been content with receiving a few lacs as tribute from these exceedingly wealthy Hindu monarchs.

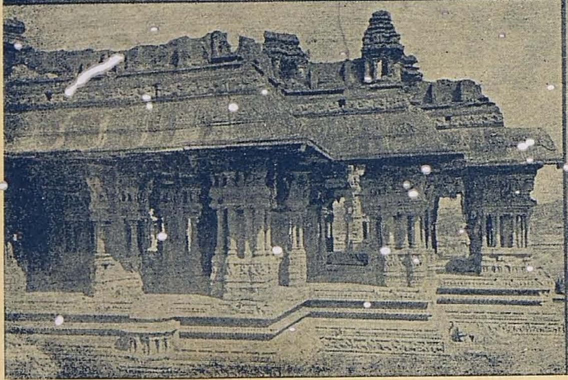
The Hindus were bitter enemies of the Mahomedans and many of the rulers who sat on the throne of Gulburga, were both statesmen and warriors. The existence of a large and powerful Hindu empire by the side of their kingdom must have been a source of permanent danger and menace to their power and stability and if ever the Mahomedans, inflicted such crushing defeats, as Ferista claims for them, it is really difficult to see, why they should have neglected those splendid political opportunities, wherein they could have struck a deadly blow at them, and dictated such terms as would have permanently crippled their resources, and prevented them from molesting the Mussalmans in the future. It seems reasonable to suppose therefore, that neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans, were strong enough to dictate their own terms. Both fought with each other, when opportunities offered and both seem to have retired from the field of battle as soon as they obtained a semblance of victory or advantage over the other. In those days of warfare, a crushing defeat was a great political blow and the conquered lay entirely at the mercy of the victor. Slices of fertile territory, belonging to Vijayanagar, would have been highly palatable to the hungry mouths of the Mahomedans, and the silence of Ferista on this important question of the annexation of portions of the Hindu kingdom by the Mahomedans after they inflicted crushing defeats on their opponents, is a fact which deserves special consideration at the hands of the readers of this interesting history. The bias of Ferista does not help him much in infusing truth into his narratives and his logic and reasoning, are often found to be quite puzzling. His unsupported statement that the Sultans of Gulburga demanded tribute, falls flat upon the historical faculty, as opposed to fair inferences from given premises. Even when the Hindus were successful, when they ravaged the enemy's country, and when they captured their fortresses, the old story of

The Hill Fort of Raichur.

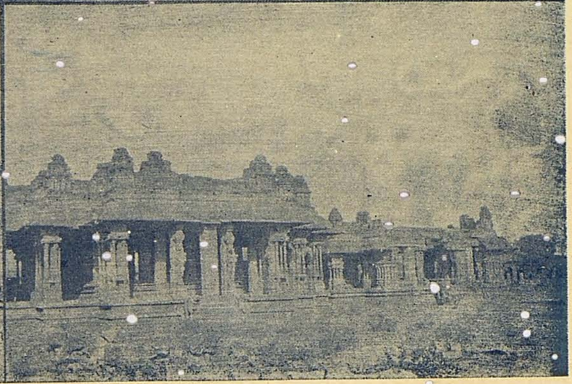
The Stone Car in Vijayavittalaswami Temple at Vijayanagar.



A portion of Vijayavittalaswami Temple.



Hazara Ramaswami Temple within the Palace at Vijayanagar.



tribute seems to stick hard to the lips of the Mahomedan historian. It would have been better if he had clearly shown in what decisive battle and under which Vijayanagar Prince the Hindus agreed to pay annual tribute, and whether they ever made any attempts to get out of their thraldom, and to issue out as an independent nation who acknowledged no overlord, and who paid no subsidy by way of recognising the suzerain power of their neighbouring Sultans. Nuniz and Paes are silent upon this important point and other travellers make no reference to any tribute being paid by these great monarchs to the Sultans of Gulburga.

If such a tribute was really exacted, there would have been mention made of it by other contemporary writers. Their complete silence deals a hard blow to Ferista's "tribute" paid by the Vijayanagar Princes.

CHAPTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF VIJAYANAGAR IN THE REIGNS OF DEVA RAYAS.

Vijayanagar was variously styled by travellers and historians and it would therefore be better to have all those names before the reader so that he may readily understand any passages which refer to this royal city. It often happens that the name of the capital lends its denomination to the whole of the empire of which it forms the principal seat of government. Vijayadhwaja built the city on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra about the year A.D. 1150 (*see* p. 12) and called it first as Vijayanagar or town built by Vijaya. The Mahomedans called it always Bijanagar, while the Portuguese travellers christened it as Bisnaga. The Italian traveller Nicolo called it as Bizengalia. Vidyanagari was the name given to it after

it was revived in grander proportions by sage Vidyaranya, while some of the inscriptions and copper-plate grants style it as Anagondi in Çanarese and Hastinavati in Sanskrit. Bichenagar and Bidjanagar were also other names for it. It was a well built and grand city, enclosed on all sides by strong lines of fortifications of cyclopean masonry whose description will be given here with a view to show the power and resources of the monarchs who ruled over its destinies, till it was most mercilessly destroyed by the five combined armies of the Mahomedans, after the defeat of the Hindu Princes in the memorable battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565. Reading through several books on early travels in India, the first notice of the kingdom of Vijayanagar seems to have been made by Soleman, a Mahomedan merchant, who made a voyage in the beginning of the 9th century, having his principal establishment in Busrah. Soleman places the king "Balhara above the king of the Djorz, which according to Abu Said, seems to be the king of Kanouj." He next mentions the "kingdom of Thafec, which was not large, but in it the women were more white and beautiful than those of the rest of India. Contiguous to these kingdoms, he places the empire of Rohmy, whose sovereign possessed a vast number of troops and went to battle accompanied by 50,000 elephants. In this country cotton stuffs were manufactured with such exquisite delicacy that a robe made of it would pass through a signet ring." M. Reinaud considers this to be an ancient kingdom of Vijayanagar or Vijayapur. Soleman then speaks of an inland kingdom named Kascheb, or Kaschibayan which probably answers to Mysore.*

* The narrative of the voyages of Soleman was first translated from the Arabic into French by the learned M. E. Reuandot and published in Paris in A.D. 1718. An English translation of it appeared in A.D. 1733 and M. Reinaud gave a correct translation with additional illustrations in A.D. 1845. *See* p. 27, Intro., "India in the XVth Century."—Hakluyt.

Baron Walckenaer considers that the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor are based upon real facts within the knowledge of the Arabs of the time. "The first country which Sindbad reaches is that of the Maharaja or the Great King. The story he tells of the mare of the King going to the shore to meet a stallion which emerged from the sea and also of an island named Kacel, where the beating of the drum was heard, occurs also in Malay annals translated by Mr. Laden. The author of these annals connects this tradition with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar nearly in the centre of the Deccan. Hence it may be inferred that Sindbad's Maharaja was the sovereign of the Deccan and that the city of Maharaja is the city of Vijayanagar, the ruins of which are still seen near the banks of the Tungabhadra, opposite Anagondi, which is supposed to have formed a portion of the ancient city itself. Katibt-chelebi or the Turkish geographer describes this city as the most magnificent and the wealthiest in its commerce of the two capitals of Narasinga." *

Nicolo-de-Conti was a Venetian of noble family who resided as a merchant in Damascus in his younger years. He started on his Eastern travels in A.D. 1420 and returned to Venice in A.D 1444 after travelling in different countries for about 25 years. Nicolo, on arriving in India, first visited the city of Cambaya, in Guzerath, which was then in a very flourishing condition. After a stay of few days there, the Venetian traveller passed down the coast to "Facumaria and Helly," thence he travelled inland 300 miles, when he came to the great city of Bizengalia or Vijayanagar, the capital of the mightiest kingdom at that time in India." His description is graphic and looks almost

* Sindbad's voyages are considered to be coincident in dates with those of Soleman and must have been in the 9th and 10th centuries. *See* p. 31, R. A. Major's "XVth Century Travels." Narasimha ruled in Vijayanagar from A. D. 1179 to A. D. 1246 or 67 years and he was the son of Vijaya Dhwaja.—*See* p. 12.

incredible. He says: "The great city of Bizengalia is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles—its walls are carried up to the mountains, and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city are estimated to be 90,000 men fit to bear arms." He goes on to say "that eight day's journey from Bizengalia, was the noble city Palagonda (Penugonda) subject to the same sovereign. Twenty days hence by land brought him to the seaport of Pendifetamia (Dharmapatnam near Tellicherry). On the road he passed two cities Odeschiria (Udayagiri) and Cenderghiria (Chandragiri)."*

Mr. Sewell says that the "extent of its lines of defences was extraordinary. Lofty and massive stone walls everywhere crossed the valleys, and led up to and mounted over the hill sides. The outer lines stretched unbroken across the level country for several miles. The hollows and valleys between the boulder-covered heights were filled with habitations."

As regards the appearance of the grand scenery, I have to quote the vivid description given by the distinguished geologist, Lt. Newbold. He says "the whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanagar

* Facumaria is guessed to be Barkur and Helly as Mount d-Ely. Barakuru is in South Canara, and is situated in a fertile and well watered country. The town is much ruined as is the fortress. Dr. Buchanan says that it was founded by Harihara II. of Vijayanagar. Mr. Sewell says that the termination "*ia*" is appended to many Indian names by the Pope's Secretary who took notes of Nicolo's adventures. Nicolo visited many parts of the interior of Hindustan, and then passed on to Ceylon, Sumatra, Java and thence he visited the south of China. He afterwards passed the coasts of Ethiopia, Red Sea, crossed the desert and reached Cairo. From thence he returned to Venice and petitioned Pope Eugene IV. for absolution, as he was compelled to renounce the Christian faith for fear of losing his life. The Pope granted his prayer on condition that by way of penance, he should relate his travels to Poggio Bracciolini, Pope's Secretary. Abbe Oliver of Paris published this in A.D. 1723 and from it the Hakluyt Society made the present English translation. *See* p. 68, "India in the XVth Century."—R. A. Major.

on the south bank of the Tungabhadra and of its suburb Anagondi on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and houses of granite and granitoidal gneiss separated by rocky defiles and narrow ragged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river. The peaks, tors and logging stones of Bijanagar and Anagondi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Deccan which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry." The observations of Mr. Sewell really deserve a quotation here as he had personal experience of the scenery he describes for a number of years. He says "the remains of palaces, temples, walls and gateways are still to be seen, and these abound not only on the site of Vijayanagar proper, but also on the north side of the swiftly rushing river, where stood the stately citadel of Anagondi, the mother of the empire city. The population of this double city was immense and the area occupied by it very extensive. From the last fortification to the south beyond the present town of Hospet to the extreme point of the defences of Anagondi on the north the distance is about 12 miles. From the extreme western line of walls in the plains to the last of the eastern works amongst the hills lying in the direction of Daroja and Kampili the interval measures about 10 miles. Within this area we find the remains of the structures of which I have spoken. The houses have disappeared and the *débris* lies many feet thick over the old ground level. But the channels are

still in working order, and wherever they exist will be found rich crops, tall and stately trees, and a tangle of luxuriant vegetation. On the rocks above are the ruins of buildings and temples and walls, and in many places small shrines stand out, built on the jutting edges of great boulders, or on the pinnacles of lofty crags, in places that would seem inaccessible to anything but monkeys and birds. In the central enclosure are the remains of great structures, that must once have been remarkable for their grandeur and dignity. These immediately surrounded the King's palace, but in A.D. 1565 the Mahomedans worked their savage will upon them with such effect, that only the crumbling ruins of the more massive edifices amongst them still stand. The site of the palace itself is marked by a large area of ground covered with heaps of broken blocks, crushed masonry and fragments of sculpture, not one stone being left upon another in its original position."*

Nicolo must have seriously laboured under special disadvantages with reference to the information he received

* The extreme distance I have measured from the south of modern Hospet where the great Rayura Cheruva (Krishna Deva Raya's High Tank Bund) stands to the north of Anagondi at a place called Basavapatnada Kaneve, the distance is about 15 miles, and the extreme distance from the east to the west, where unmistakable ruins of the former city may be seen, is about 11 miles. This huge area of 15 × 11=165 square miles was one continuous city, with of course such tanks, pleasure grounds, open spaces, water channels, and fruit gardens and fields in their midst as were needed for the comforts of its inhabitants and the luxuries of its nobles and sovereigns. The present remains of palaces, stables, council chambers, etc. no doubt represent the older structures, which adorned the city during the times of Deva Raya I. and II., but the noble edifices which were raised in Nagalapur—modern Hospet—by the Princes of the second or Narasimha dynasty, and their aristocratic dependants, seem to have been entirely destroyed, so much so, that even traces of them are hardly visible. Nicolo must have visited Vijayanagar 20 years before Abdur Razaak and it is a strange circumstance that both of these left descriptions of the city as they saw it during the time of Deva Raya II. and their graphic descriptions of the city, its magnificence, power and wealth strike a grand blow to the alleged subordination, defeat and payment of tribute by these Princes to the Sultans of Gulburga.

from the natives of the land about their feasts, fasts, customs, manners, literature, sciences and arts. Their religion and social rites must have been very peculiar to him, and his description, therefore, of what he learnt from his informers must be received with some degree of caution. The Venetian traveller thus observes—"the inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves which is considered to be a great honor for them."*

Nicolo describes the car processions and other feasts observed, probably on a grand scale in this city. He remarks that during a "certain time of the year the

* Nicolo must have been thoroughly misled in his information about these women, whom he calls the king's wives. No king in India ever married 10 or 12 thousand women, although some of them kept a hundred or two in their harem more for pleasure and dissipation than as lawful wives. Deva Raya II. had two patta Mahishies or married queens and he may have kept a few more for pleasure. Each of those queens had thousands of women attendants on her, and this large number, seems to have been mistaken by the Venetian traveller—from their grand dress and ornaments—for the wives of the ruling monarch. None of the inscriptions or copper-plate grants or any of the other records make mention of the fact of thousands of women burning themselves with the dead man, even though he was a king. On the other hand, some of the inscriptions published here already, show that *sati*, though freely allowed by law, was not resorted to by all classes of women, even including the Brahmins. Only in special cases women burnt themselves with their husbands. The mention of this circumstance in inscriptions clearly proves the inference, that *sati* was not common, and that when it was practised, people or the sovereign made a special note of it by raising some monument or memorial. Four thousand women engaged in the kitchen and menial services cannot be classified under the head of king's wives. They were cooks and could not have been queens.

Hindus carry their idols through the city, placed between two chariots in which are young women richly adorned who sing hymns to the God and accompanied by a great concourse of people." He says that "many, carried away by their fervour, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—which they say is very acceptable to their God. Others making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead, accompany the idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothe themselves in new garments and spend three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting. On another of those festivals they fix up within their temples and on the outside on the roofs an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night. On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, in the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams, each day is placed a man of pious aspect dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons, and other odoriferous fruits, all which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and the queen themselves, with saffron water placed for that purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter.*

* The bathing and dancing for three days must refer to Depavali, when even the beggars will have an oil bath, and procure new clothing. The

In this city, as well as in other parts of this extensive empire, Nicolo must have found large quantities of diamonds, to make him to describe about the process by which they were then supposed to have been gathered. The theory—that diamonds were found in inaccessible valleys, into which people managed to throw lumps of flesh, so that these precious stones might adhere to them, and then be lifted by eagles and vultures, which, when seated on boulders and accessible parts of the mountains could be frightened away and these gems may be gathered afterwards—held good from the earliest up to very recent times. Sindbad gave it in his voyages while Nicolo repeats the same story in his narrative.

Yugadi or the New Year's day lasts only for a day, when all may not resort to bathing. Mr. Sewell says that "the first of these festivals may be the Kanarese New Year's day, which Domingo Paes in his Chronicle asserts to have fallen during his visit to Vijayanagar on October 12th." If Paes made a mistake about the names of the festivals he saw, there is some excuse, as his stay was only for a short time. But Mr. Sewell spent the best part of his life in India, and even then he does not seem to have understood the dates of Hindu festivals. The Kanarese and Telugu New Year's day, are one and the same, and they are regulated by the lunar movements. At the commencement of every cyclic year, the first day is the New Year's day and it invariably falls in the latter part of March or the first part of April. There is another New Year's day called the Tamilian, or Solar, and this takes place with the entry of the Sun into the Zodiacal sign of Aries-Mesha. This falls always between the 11th and 13th of April and very rarely it falls on the 14th of that month. The lighting of lamps on a large scale takes place in the month of Kartika, and specially it will be so on the last day of that month. During the whole of that month, what is called "Kartika Deepa" is even now lighted in front of the houses of almost every man. The nine days' festival of course stands for Mahanavami—but the description Nicolo gives of "beams being set up," etc., cannot be easily made out, and if the custom was then in existence, it seems to have disappeared with the disappearance of that empire. The three days' festival, when saffron water is sprinkled on all passers-by, including the royalty, refers undoubtedly to Holi festival or Kamana Hunnami (full moon day devoted to the love god Cupid or Kama). Nicolo is not quite correct when he says it is saffron water. Large quantities of water are boiled with saffron, and then some slaked lime is added to it which gives it red color. According to the rank of the party, rose and other sweet scented oils are added and quantities of this colored liquid are poured on passers-by and friends and relations without distinction. This custom now prevails to some extent specially among the Marwadies.

The direction given by Nicolo, points to the mines on the Krishna river, usually known as the "mines of Golconda." Marco Polo mentions the same mines in A.D. 1296. "The Hindus" says Conti, "divide the year into twelve months which they name after the signs of the Zodiac." His observations about the Hindu idea of European nations are interesting. He says that "they (natives) call us Franks, and say that while they call other nations blind, that they themselves have two eyes, and that we have but one because they consider that they excel all others in prudence."*

According to this traveller the people of Cambay used paper while the rest of the Indians wrote on leaves of the trees. The debtors, who were insolvents, were everywhere adjudged to be the property of their creditors, and therefore, he says, that he found a large number of slaves. The numbers of people and nations in the empire of Vijayanagar exceed belief and "their armies consist of a million men and upwards." Then continuing his remarks, he observes that "the natives of Central India make use of the ballistae and those machines which we call "bombardas," also other warlike implements adopted for besieging cities."†

* Mahomedans call the Hindus "men of darkness"; Christians call other nations "pagans"—those who worship false gods, hence intellectually blind; Chinese call themselves "celestials"; while foreigners are denominated as "devils." About A.D. 1436, Barbaro, writing of his experiences in Tartary, says that "Catain told me how the chief of that Prince's *corte* knew well enough what the French were. The Cataini have two eyes, and you French have one; and whereas (turning to the Tartars who were with him) you have never a one." *See* p. 58, "Hakluyt Travels."

† Slavery in the sense in which it is strictly understood, does not seem to have existed at any time in India, although the debtors, who had greater scruples of conscience then than they possess now, for discharging their liabilities, were made to serve directly or indirectly under their exacting creditors. This form of slavery exists all over the world in some shape or other, as the poorer classes of people struggling for existence, with large families dependent upon them, can ill-afford to disobey the orders of their more fortunate creditors and whether we call it "slavery" or

The description of the city by Abdur Razaak is vivid and it represents the true feelings of an intelligent foreign traveller at the sight of scenes which were utterly new to

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"independence" in our dictionaries the fact remains the same and the poor man, with a heavy domestic burden on him, continues to be the real slave of his employer or money-lender and condescends to do menial and degrading work, which he would hardly even think of, if he had the bare competence. The enormous "strikes" of the labouring classes in the present age can only have one explanation, and they simply prove, that the oppressed poor—when the tyranny reaches an acute state—resort to their effort of freeing themselves from the real bonds of slavery, thrown around them by godless and greedy capitalists. This situation is more painful now than it was before from the fact that the present slave, feels his slavery bitterly under the impression that he is legally a free man, while the former slaves resigned themselves to their fate, since it was considered their lot to work for others and felt little or no degradation from it. The statements of Nicolo are ably confirmed by the diaries of Abdur Razaak.

The palm leaves are commonly used even to-day for writing purposes in Southern India, and there are found volumes of very old leaves preserved in several libraries, whose ages may be counted by hundreds and thousands of years. But paper seems to have been in use also in India from very early times. Writing of these ballistae, Mr. Sewell says, "the stone balls generally made of quartzose granite, which are so often found in the country about Vijayanagar on the sites of old forts were probably intended to be projected from these weapons. They are often called cannon balls, but could hardly have been fired from the guns as they would have broken up under the discharge and have seriously injured the piece." In one of my wanderings among the hills round Anagondi, I lost my way and had to go jumping from boulder to boulder like the ancestors of Huxley's mankind, with my guide, who got greatly confounded by the fear that we might have "some cordial meeting" with any one of the "wild" denizens, who are so fond of human flesh. After three or four hours fruitless wandering from rock to rock we got into a large cave where there were hundreds of thousands of cannon balls of various descriptions and an unusually large number of human bones. I could make no historical guess then, beyond the fact that a large garrison in charge of these balls probably perished there or that the dead and the dying were thrown into it in some bloody engagement. With the greatest difficulty and with an abundant supply of scratches all over the body, we were able to descend on the side of Pampasarovar after a fruitless and painful wandering for nearly 10 hours. Of course, we did not make another attempt to identify the cave where these cannon balls were found, lest we should pass into the category of our bygone ancestors. I also saw many stone balls all through my jumps. Some of these caves are of enormous dimensions and probably were used to conceal large bodies of troops and ammunitions.

him and which he witnessed with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears. Abdur Razaak was admitted into the service of Shah Rukh (King of Persia) and in A.H. 845 (A.D. 1441) he was sent on an important mission to the Prince of the kingdom whose capital was Vijayanagar. M. Quartremere referring to Abdur Razaak's diaries (in the XIV. Vol. of "Extraits Desmanuscripts"), says "that it is incontestably one of the most curious and veracious histories that has been written in any of the Eastern languages." Abdur Razaak set out from Herat in January, A.D. 1442. He remained for several months at Muscat, where he drolly describes that "the heat was so intense that the marrow boiled in the bones, and the metal of their swords melted like wax." After a favourable voyage he arrived at Calicut, where he speaks in terms of commendation of the honesty of the people and the facilities of commerce. He does not admire the personal appearance of the natives who seemed to him "to resemble devils rather than men." He goes on to say "these devils were all black and naked, having only a piece of cloth tied around their middle, holding in one hand a shining javelin and in the other a buckler of bullock hide.*

* Langles published a collection of voyages in A.D. 1798 in which the diary of Abdur Razaak appeared. M. Querard proves that he was guilty of literary fraud. M. Audiferret proves beyond doubt that the voyage of Abdur Razaak was taken entirely from a French translation made by M. Galland (the celebrated translator of the "Arabian Nights Entertainments") from a history of Shah Rukh and the other descendants of Timur written by the same Abdur Razaak. Two copies of this are in the "National Library of Paris." Compare the impressions of a European now just landing for the first time at Madras or any one of the seaports and seeing the black and raggedly dressed coolies and boatsmen, with those of Abdur Razaak. Six centuries of progression and civilisation seem to have made no change either in the complexion of these coolies or their dress. The javelins and bucklers alone seem to have disappeared with the changes effected in the political situation. At Calicut the Persian ambassador resided for about six months and then went to Vijayanagar at the call of Deva Raya II.

Abdur Razaak has a knack in writing his diaries and the story of his visit to this great capital must be told by himself in his own inimitable style. He begins thus:—"On a sudden a man arrived who brought me the intelligence that the King of Bidjanagar, who holds a powerful empire and a mighty dominion under his sway had sent him to the Sumeri, as delegate charged with a letter, in which he desired that he would send on to him the ambassador of His Majesty the happy Khakhan (the King of Persia). Although the Sumeri is not subject to the laws of the King of Bidjanagar, he nevertheless pays him respect and stands extremely in fear of him, since if what is said is true, the latter Prince has in his dominions 300 ports each of which is equal to Calicut and on *terra firma* his territories comprise a space of three months' journey." He left Calicut accordingly and went to Mangalore by sea "which formed the frontier of the kingdom of Bidjanagar." After a stay of a couple of days there, "he journeyed inland, passing many towns, and amongst them a place where he saw a small but wonderful temple made of bronze." "At length," Abdur Razaak says, "I came to a mountain whose summit reached the skies. Having left this mountain and this forest behind me, I reached a town called Belour, the houses of which were like palaces and where there was a temple with exquisite sculpture."*

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* Sir H. Elliot, as well as Mr. Sewell, seems to have fallen into error regarding Abdur Razaak's "Belour." Mr. Sewell says "the place alluded to was probably Bednur," p. 88, "F. E." Elliot considers it as Bidrur. The present travels refer to the year A.D. 1443. Bednur, or Nagar, was an insignificant village then which came to prominence, about the year A.D. 1640. "It was originally a small village," says Mr. Rice, "called Biduru Halli or bamboo village, and contained a temple of Nilkanta, the property of a Brahmin—about A.D. 1640, under the name of Bidrur or Bednur, it became the capital of the Keladi Chiefs who transferred the seat of their government hither from Ikkeri." Being in the direct course of trade it rapidly increased in size and importance until there was a prospect of the houses reaching the number of one hundred thousand which would entitle it to be called a Nagara. The walls were eight miles in circumference and had 10 gates. The famous Sivappa Naik who ruled from

Abdur Razaak reached the capital about the end of April A.D. 1443, and he thus describes his first impressions:—"The King sent a numerous *cortège* to meet us and appointed us a very handsome house for our residence. His dominion extends from the frontier of Serendib to the extremities of the country of Gulburga (from the Krishna to Cape Comorin). One sees there more than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling mountains and in their form resembling devils. The troops amount in number to 11 lacs. One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindustan a more absolute *Rai*,—for the monarchs of this country bear the title of *Rai*. The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place

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A.D. 1645 to 1660 who helped the fallen Vijayanagar monarch Sri Ranga Raya at a later period, had greatly added to its importance and the whole was destroyed by Hyder Ali, who carried away about 20 crores of rupees as booty, which helped him a great deal in strengthening his shaky political position at that time. It would be absurd, therefore, to identify Bednur as Abdur Razaak's Belour. Even in its grandest days, Bednur never contained any temple "with such exquisite sculpture," as Abdur Razaak says. Abdur Razaak certainly seems to have visited Belour, in the Hassan District, where there is a splendid temple built by Dekkana Chari under the famous Hoysala King Vishnu Varadhana. *See* p. 61, Chap. V.

The Vijayanagar Princes seem to have taken a "peculiar interest in the province of Balam (which included Belur) and to have made great efforts to colonise it. Every encouragement was given to settlers of all castes by granting them land at little or no rent." Later, all the west of this District was bestowed with adjoining tracts above and below the ghauts upon Veena Ramappa a court musician at Vijayanagar. After a period Ramappa abdicated, and the province of Balam, yeilding a revenue of three lacs of pagodas, was in A.D. 1397, made over by the rulers of Vijayanagar to Singappa Naick, one of their generals, and son of an old Poligar, named Mancha Ayyappa Naick. Belur was therefore a grand city in the 12th and 13th centuries, and must have been equally so during the middle of the 15th century. We have already referred to the restoration of the "golden kalasas" on the Chennakesava temple and therefore the Persian ambassador must have been equally struck by the grandeur of the place and the excellent sculpture of its temple. *See* p. 214 and 216 and the inscription dated A.D. 1397.

The mountains near Bednur are not so high as the Bababudan range which are about 25 miles from Belur. Although now much in ruins Belur presents a very picturesque appearance both from its possession of this splendid temple, and also from its geographical situation.

like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same

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The temple of bronze he refers to must have been really a wonderful one. Razaak says that "it is an equilateral square of about 10 *ghuz* in length and breadth and 5 in height. It is entirely formed of cast bronze. It has four estrades, upon that in the front stands a human figure of great size made of gold—its eyes are formed of rubies, placed so artistically that the statue seems to look at you. The whole is worked with wonderful delicacy and perfection." "After passing this temple I came each day to some city or populous town." In p. 254 we have seen that Mangalore contained the Navy of the Vijayanagar Rayas under an admiral there. Razaak says that Mangalore formed the "frontier of the King of Bidjanagar," and that the bronze temple referred to was at a distance of three parasangs from Mangalore (about 10 miles). The sentence that "After passing this temple I came each day to some city or populous town" is pregnant with political and social meaning. Razaak could not have travelled more than 15 or 20 miles a day, and when he found "very populous towns or cities" within these distances it gives us a clear idea of the vast amount of population living in the country and the large cities which were found at short distances from each other. Speaking of the Belour temple, he says that it is "so lofty as to be visible at a distance of many parasangs. It would be impossible to describe such a building without being suspected of exaggeration. All the ground of the temple parterre, all the environs of this place of delight are paved with polished stones joined together with so much delicacy and skill that they seem to form but one single slab of stone and look like a fragment of the sky. In the middle of this platform rises a building composed of a cupola stone formed of blue stones and terminating in a point. So great a number of pictures and figures had been drawn by the pen and the pencil that it would be impossible in the space of a month to sketch it all upon damask or taffeta. From the bottom of the building to the top, there is not a hand's breadth to be found uncovered with painting after the manner of the Franks. All the other buildings, great and small, are covered with paintings and sculptures of extreme delicacy." Razaak says that "devotional exercises were held in this temple both in the mornings and evenings." He further observes referring to the inhabitants of Belur "that they have rents and pensions assigned to them on this temple." In the face of this clear description Sir H. Elliot and Mr. Sewell, make an ill-founded guess that it is Bednur that the Persian ambassador refers to, a town that came into existence only two centuries afterwards. Belur is a town of remote antiquity and was the Velapuri of the Sanskrit writers. There are mines of sapphires, close to a village called Belvadi, which is about 12 or 15 miles from Belur, and the stone quarries contain fine specimens of green stones. The blue stones referred to must have been taken from these. Hoysalas had done much to beautify and enrich Belur, and the Vijayanagar Princes, out of respect for those great sovereigns, granted liberal sums to keep up its temple worship and grandeur.

number of walls enclose each other. Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one-half of which is sunk in the ground, while the other half rises above it. These are fixed one beside the other in such a manner that no horse or foot soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel.*

Mr. Sewell makes the following guess : "The first wall must have been, that on the neck between the two hills south-west of Hospet." This must have been beyond the grand bund which Krishna Deva Raya raised. "After being received at this entrance gate Razaak must have passed down the slope through 'cultivated fields, houses and gardens' to the entrance of Hospet, where the second

* Mr. Sewell is mistaken when he says that "I believe that they (stones) have now disappeared." When I drove with the Raja to Sangapur, about 6 miles from Anagondi, north-east, we had to get down from the tonga for over a mile in order to cross the plain which contained these stones fixed for preventing the use of cavalry. These are called Kuduray Datu Kallu or "stones to prevent the jumps of horse."

They must have been really formidable for foreign horse, as any approach to the citadels would expose them to the strong fire from the batteries, and put them to great confusion and loss. Paes, who visited Vijayanagar during the time of Krishna Deva Raya, speaks thus of this system of city defence. He says "and there is yet another defence made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast; they are in breadth a lance shaft and half with the same distance between them and the great wall."

Mr. Sewell says "that the position of these seven walls and gates have long been a puzzle to me." He is partly right. The reader of Vijayanagar history must remember that the grand street of palaces mentioned by the Portuguese travellers has entirely disappeared. The village called Daroja (a railway station) means that it formed the principal entrance to the great city and it is about 10 or 12 miles from Vijayanagar. Darwaja in Urdu means "a gate." Another village called Thoranagallu (also a railway station) represented probably the outermost limits of this extensive metropolis. Thorana and Kallu are Kanarese words, meaning two stone pillars, across which green mango leaves or other flowers were hung by way of honour and welcome when the Princes entered the city either after their victories or after their long tours. The ploughs of the busy cultivators, and the pickaxes of the house builders, worked through the long period of five centuries have certainly removed many traces of these seven lines of fortifications which were seen by the Persian ambassador during his visit.

line of fortification barred the way, and since that town was not then thickly populated, the same features would meet his eye till he passed a third line of wall on the north side of that town." This will be about a mile north of Hospet probably enclosing the famous Ananthana Gudi, the dome of which is peculiarly constructed. "From this point the houses became thicker, probably forming a long street, with shops on either side of the road leading thence to the capital. The fourth line of wall with a strong gateway is to be seen on the south of the present village of Malapanagudi, where several remains of old buildings exist, and notably a handsome stone well, once probably belonging to the country house of some noble or chief officer. The fifth line is on the north of Malapanagudi, and here the great gateway still stands, though the wall is much damaged and destroyed. The sixth line is passed just to the south of the Kamalapur tank. The seventh or inner line is the great wall still to be seen in fairly good repair north of that village... This last surrounded the palace and the government buildings; the space enclosed (by this line) measuring roughly a mile from north to south and two miles and-a-quarter from east to west."*

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* Just to the south of Kamalapur may be seen a strong fort wall with high batteries. This must have been the outer wall of the palace enclosure. These are the lines of defences on the south of Vijayanagar. On the north or the Thungabhadra side, may be seen first the wall which is just to the north of Kamalapur, second a line of stone wall about a mile from it, which continues, into the adjacent hills, and must have constituted a strong defence for approaching from the Kampili side. The third wall is that which contains the gateway leading to Thalwar Ghatta from whence the people had to cross over to the Anagondi side. Close to the northern bank of the Thungabhadra there is a fort wall, with battlements at intervals. Before we approach the present village of Anagondi, we have to pass two more lines of fortifications whose gateways still stand to mark their former grandeur and position. On the north of Anagondi is a strong stone wall with batteries, connecting the two ranges of hills, which enclose Anagondi. Then passing northwards one comes across three more lines of strong masonry walls. All these must have made the place quite impregnable. If the cowardly Vijayanagar Princes, after the battle of Talikota, had simply closed the fort gates, and allowed the Mahomedans

The outer citadel is described as a fortress of round shape, built on the summit of a mountain and constructed of stones and lime. It had very "solid gates, the guards of which were constantly at their post, and examined everything with severe inspection." Mr. Sewell remarks that "the guards at the gates were doubtless the officers entrusted with the collection of the octoroi duties. Sir H. Elliot's translation (IV. 104) adds to the passage as quoted the words 'they collect the *jizyat* or taxes.' This system of collecting octoroi dues at the gates of principal towns lasted till recent days, having only been abolished by the British Government." *

Razaak says that the "seventh fortress is placed in the centre of others, and occupies an area ten times larger than the market-place in the city of Herat and is to the

to reduce them, the task would have been utterly impossible and the combined Mahomedans, who were never united in bonds of cordial friendship or mutual sympathy or trust, would have certainly quarrelled, before they had made any progress, in their siege of these impregnable lines, and the history of Vijayanagar would have been quite different. Their headlong flight, without making the slightest pretence of defence, with inexhaustible resources under their command, is simply unaccountable and proves that when national destinies are closed, its rulers get panic-stricken, and abandon themselves to utter destruction by an irresistible fate, which defies all attempts at any reasonable explanation. A small garrison inside this impregnable fortress, would have been able to keep at bay a powerful army of the enemy for many months. The Fates seem to have ordained otherwise. The handsome well Mr. Sewell refers to is called in Kannada *Suli Bhavi* which admits of two interpretations. A tradition says that it was built by a nobleman for his *Sulay* or "dancing girl," while another account declares that it is *Suli Bhavi* or the "winding well." The well is a fine specimen of architecture and contains in the winding flights of steps, accommodation for pleasure-seekers and jolly folks. The slabs of stones are joined with extreme delicacy and artistic skill.

*Mr. Sewell seems to have had no practical experience of these matters. The system of collecting octoroi dues at the gates of principal cities has never been entirely abolished by the present Government. A traveller has only to go to Delhi, Lahore, Benares, Allahabad, Bangalore, and other important cities in India to see if these remarks are correct. In Hyderabad and many of the Native States, the karodgiri is a regular source of nuisance to the hapless visitor. This seems to be a grievance without a remedy.

north and contains the palace of the King. The distance between the opposite gates of the outer fortresses north and south is two parasangs and the same east to west.*

The space which separates the first fortress from the second and up to the third, is filled with cultivated fields and with houses and gardens. In the space from the third to the seventh one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops and a bazaar. By the King's palace are four bazaars placed opposite each other. On the north is the portico of the palace of the *Rai*. Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery, but the audience hall of the King's palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad. Roses are sold everywhere. These people could not live without roses and they look upon these as quite as necessary as food. Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other. The jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality as well as in the King's palace, one sees numerous running streams and channels formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth.†

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* Parasang seems to be equal to about three-and-a-half or four miles. Thus the distance Razaak mentions, "between the opposite gates of the outer fortress north and south will be about seven or eight miles." Referring to the "extremely long and broad bazaars," Mr. Sewell observes that "the Pansupari Bazaar along the road leading from the palace gate to the Anagondi gate on the river, must certainly have been crossed by another road lined with shops, leading from the Kamalapur gate, of the inner enclosure, northwards to the great Hampi temple. Close to the gate of the palace proper these roads would intersect at right angles and would form four separate bazaars or streets. The galleries and porticoes are now not in existence, but the remains in the street running east from the Hampi temple will show what the galleries were like in those days. This last street alone is half-a-mile long."

† Remains of water canals can be seen not far from the "Ladies' Bath." Sir H. Elliot's translation says "that the Divankhanna resembles a forty-pillared hall." Most of these buildings seem to have been destroyed by the Mahomedans and it is difficult to identify places mentioned by those early travellers. Hakluyat's translation may probably refer to the great enclosure, which lies to the west of the "elephants' stables."

On the left of the King's portico rises the Divankhana (the council house), which is extremely large and locks like a palace. In front of it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man, its length 30 *ghuz* and its breadth 10. In it is placed the Dufterkhana (the archives) and here sit the scribes. The writing of this people is of two kinds. In one they write their letters with a *kalam* (pen) of iron upon a leaf of Indian nut (cocoanut) which is two *ghuz* in length and two fingers in breadth. In the second kind of writing they blacken a white surface, they then take a soft stone which they cut like a *kalam* and which they used to form the letters. This stone leaves on the black surface a white color which lasts a very long time and this kind of writing is held in high estimation.*

Mr. Sewell says "that the lofty walls with watch towers at the angles which surround the enclosure referred to would be just such as might be supposed to have been erected for the protection of the royal archives and offices of the kingdom—the Divankhana. If so, the hall in front would be the structure . . . . . . called the 'concert hall.' This hall would be the usual working office of the Minister and his colleagues." Mr. Sewell does not seem to have guessed correctly. Razaak says "it is extremely large and looks like a palace," and makes the hall in front "90 feet by 30 feet," and gives it a height "above the stature of a man." The present hall is two-storied and therefore could not have been the one referred to. Besides it is not so long. *Ghuz* in Urdu means roughly a yard or three feet. Dannaik is a corruption of "Danda Naicka" or the Chief who deals out punishments, or who is in charge of the army—a commander. It is difficult to understand why the Dannaik should have been a eunuch. Tchobdars are what may be termed as "orderlies" now, but armed during those days with the usual weapons of military men.

* It is the palm leaves which were used then, and which are even now commonly used in Southern India. The other material is thus prepared. They take fresh white cloth and apply to it certain black stuff, which leaves a clean black surface on which they write with the white pot-stone pencils. This is technically called in Kanarese "Kadatha Pustuka" and specimens of which are even now largely found in use in small moffusil stations. I do not know if Razaak is right in saying that the letters impressed on the palm leaves are not so lasting as those on the Kadatha leaves. The reality seems to be quite the contrary. There must have been some error in the Hakluyat's English translation. The selling of large quantities of valuable pearls and gems in public streets speaks volumes in favour of police arrangements and the vigor of the ruling Princes.

In the middle of this palace upon an high estrade, is seated an eunuch called the Daiang, who alone presides over the Divan. At the end of the hall stand Tchobdars (hussars) drawn up in line. The Divan or Dannaik settles people's affairs and hears their petitions. There is no appeal against his decision. After concluding business the Dannaik passes through seven doors to the palace, and entering into the last alone makes his report to the King. Behind the King's palace are the house and hall allotted to the Daiang. To the left of the said palace is the Darabkhana or the Mint.*

In this country they have three kinds of money made of gold mixed with alloy—one called "varaha," weighs about one "mithakal," equivalent to two dinars; the second called "pertab" is half of the first; the third called "fanam" is one-tenth of the last-mentioned coin. Of these coins the fanam (*hana* in Canarese) is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the fanam called "tar." A copper coin worth one-third of a "tar" is called "djital." According to the practice adopted in this empire all the provinces at a fixed period bring their gold to the Mint. If any man receive from the Divan an allowance in gold he has to be paid by the "Darabkhana." The soldiers receive their pay every four months and no payment is ever made by draft upon the revenues of any province. †

* Mr. Sewell says that "Abdur Razaak's description looks as if he was standing at the gate of the palace looking eastwards." But I am inclined to think that he stood with his face north-east rather than to the east from the palace gate. One who stands now near "Maharnavami Dibba" or the high stone structure near the old palaces, sees this grand enclosure more to the north than to the east. The bazaar referred to behind the Mint was about 300 by 20 yards and must have looked very grand indeed during those days with noble edifices on both sides, with palace buildings in front, and with rocky hills on all sides covered with habitations and temples of various descriptions.

† This description reveals much important information. They had gold, silver and copper coins in circulation and they had plenty of gold—

This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into extreme details. In the King's palace are several cells like basins filled with bullion forming one mass. All the inhabitants of this country both high and low, down to the workmen in the bazaar, wear pearls or rings set with precious stones in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand and on the fingers. Opposite the Divankhana is the house of the elephants. Although this monarch possess a considerable number of elephants in his dominions, the largest of these animals are kept near the palace in the interior of the first and the second fortress. The King possesses one white elephant of an extremely great size, on whose body are scattered here and there grey spots like freckles. Every morning, this elephant is led out before the King and the sight of him seems to act as a happy omen. The elephants of the palace are fed upon *kitcheri* and they take food twice a day. Each elephant has a separate compartment, the walls of which are extremely solid and the roof composed of strong pieces of wood.*

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which must have come to them every year in enormous quantities. This certainly pre-supposes excellent mining industries in India and other countries. Payments seem to have been made on the Mint offices, which must have had two departments—the coining and paying branches. The accounts were made simple by giving drafts only on the Huzur treasury—no drafts were made on provincial governments. A "varana" would be about four rupees and "pertab" worth about two rupees. A "fanam" would then be about six annas, and the silver coin "tar" was valued at about one anna. The copper coin "djital" was one-third of an anna, or what is called in Kanarese a "duddu."

* Then a description of the way for catching elephants is given by Razaak, who breathes some originality among those people. He says "that on the road taken by the animal when he goes to drink, they dig a trench and cover it over very lightly. When an elephant falls into it, two or three days are allowed to elapse before anybody approaches him. Then a man comes and strikes him several blows with a stick well applied. Upon this another man shows himself and violently drives away the man who struck the blows and seizing his stick hurls it a great way off. After which he throws some food to the elephant and goes away. For

Abdur Razaak says that "even the sovereigns of Hindustan take part in hunting the elephant. They remain a whole month or even more in a desert or in the jungles and when they have taken any of these animals, they feel greatly proud of their 'shikari.' The merchants who trade in elephants go to seek them in the Island of Ceylon and export them to different countries, where they sell them according to the tariff which varies with their height.*

"Opposite the Mint is the house of the governor where are stationed 12,000 soldiers on guard. Behind the Mint is a sort of bazaar, which is more than 300 *ghuz* in length and more than 20 in breadth. On two sides are ranged houses and forecourts; in front of them are erected, instead of benches (*kurzi*), several lofty seats, constructed of beautiful stone. On the two sides of the avenue formed by the chambers are represented figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals. All are so well drawn and their movements are so natural in appearance, that you would think these animals were alive.†

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several days this process is skilfully repeated. Before long the animal becomes very friendly with the latter individual, who by degrees approaches the elephant and offers him fruits for which this animal is known to have a special liking. He then scratches him and rubs him and the elephant, won over by this means, submits without resistance and allows a chain to be passed round his neck." Compare modern khedda operations with those detailed by Razaak.

* Razaak's diaries are wonderfully confirmatory of the inscriptions which have been discovered about these Princes. Deva Raya II. was specially called Gaja *Bentakara* or hunter of elephants and Razaak simply repeats what the *sasanas* say.

† It is highly interesting to note the powers of keen observation Abdur Razaak possessed. If these "lions, panthers, tigers and other animals" exhibited movements of limbs, which gave them a real life-like appearance, then certainly the skill of the artificers who could construct moving and turning pavilions of five or seven stories high, and design artificial animals, with such animated appearances, must have been very wonderful. None of our present civilised nations, has yet produced such magnificent specimens of design and workmanship. "Kurzi" roughly means in Urdu something like an English chair.

Thrones and chairs are placed on the platforms and the courtesans seat themselves thereon, bedecked in gems and fine raiment. They are all extremely young and of perfect beauty." Then the ambassador goes on to say that "the guards have it assigned to them as a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurs within the fortresses. If any article is lost or stolen by thieves it is their place to report it, if not they are bound to make it good."*

Abdur Razaak had been allowed to take up his abode in a lofty house, which had been prepared for his use, on the 1st Mohurram (1st May, A.D. 1443). He was highly pleased with the spacious accommodation and the rich supplies the Court had arranged for him during his stay. He goes on by observing that "one day some messengers sent from the palace of the King came to seek me, and at the close of the same day I presented myself at Court and offered for the monarch's acceptance, four beautiful horses and some Tokouz of Damask and satin. The Prince was seated in a hall surrounded by the most imposing attributes of State. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle. The King was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin and he was rather tall; on the cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. †

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*This is a system of Police administration in which nothing can be lost without their knowledge. If any article was missing they had to make good the loss. It was, therefore, in their own interests that the guards had to be specially vigilant so that they may not suffer by their carelessness. These soldiers probably were semi-military as they had to keep an eye on every important event which transpired within the fort walls, and also detect the offenders. This large number of soldiers close to the palace, shows its extent and the huge population the city must have contained.

* It has been pointed out that Deva Raya II. must have been young at the time of ascending the throne and that he was very ably assisted by his uncle Harihara. He was already on the throne for 20 years, an

The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing. On being led into the presence of this monarch I bowed my head three times. The Prince received me with interest and made me take my seat very near him. When he took the august letter of the Emperor (Persia) he handed it to the interpreter, and said "my heart is truly delighted to see that a great king has been pleased to send me an ambassador." Razaak then says that 500 pieces of gold, a sabre, decked with gems, betel leaves and nuts, and some quantity of camphor were presented to him by Deva Raya II. and received his permission to go home." Twice in a week at the close of the day the King sent for him and put questions to him representing his majesty the happy Khakhan. On each occasion the author (Abdur Razaak) received a purse of gold, a packet of betel and some camphor. On one occasion the King said to him by his interpreter, "your monarchs invite an ambassador and receive him to their tables. As you and we may not eat together, this purse full of gold is the 'feast' we give to

probably was about 35 or 40 years at the time Abdur Razaak was personally introduced. The India Office copy says "he was exceedingly young." On this Mr. Sewell ventures a guess that probably the "personage" to whom Razaak was introduced "could hardly have been Deva Raya II." Razaak saw him in the evening and that from a respectable distance, when Deva Raya II. was seated on the "throne of extraordinary size." Many of the Vijayanagar Princes probably had no beard, and Deva Raya II. may have had a face with slight hair on his cheeks. Razaak could not have committed such a great blunder as to confound any one of the Princes, with the King specially as he remained many months in this royal city, and had numerous opportunities to see the Emperor, both when he was introduced as well as when Deva Raya II. rode on his horse. Hakluyat translates the name of the festival as "Mahanadi" and Elliot "Mahanawi." The description and details show that it may have been Mahanavami which generally falls in October and which fell in that year in October or some other festival which was specially celebrated on political considerations.

Mr. Sewell has not shown on what authority he considers that the New Year's day was celebrated at Vijayanagar on the 1st of Kartika (November). Taking a false premises he tries to support it by a long argument. *See* p. 83, "F. E."

an ambassador." Razaak then describes the properties of betel leaf and nut, and explains that "in Hindustan the greater part of the country of the Arabs and the kingdom of Ormuz an extreme fondness prevails for this leaf which in fact deserves its reputation.*

If report speaks truly, the number of the Princesses and concubines amounts to 700. "Two women never inhabit the same house, and each has a separate maintenance. As soon as a beautiful girl is found in any part of the kingdom, when the consent of her father and mother is obtained, she is conducted with great pomp to the harem. She enjoys the highest consideration, although no stranger is allowed to see her." The establishment for these women must have been very costly and the number of servants must have been counted by thousands. The sovereigns obtained the "consent of the parents," thereby proving beyond doubt, the absence of the royal lust and tyranny, and the violence which characterised the capture of handsome girls by sovereigns of other nations and countries.

Abdur Razaak who was present at a grand festival in the city, gives a glowing account of the festivities he witnessed. He observes: "that in pursuance of orders issued by the King of Bidjanagar, the generals and principal personages from all parts of his empire which extends over a space of three months journey presented

* Then he says something about the manner of eating this leaf. "They bruise a portion of supari and put it in the mouth. Moistening a betel leaf together with a grain of chalk they rub the one upon the other, roll them together and place them in the mouth. They use four or five leaves at a time and chew them. This brightens the countenance and gives it a color, causes an intoxication similar to that of wine, appeases hunger, excites appetite in those who are satiated, it removes the disagreeable smell from the mouth and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to express how strengthening it is and how much it excites to pleasure." Then he considers that the large harem the King has, may "be due to the properties of this plant." In Hindu medical works this leaf has been given 11 good properties which must have been related to Razaak. He seems to mention the most important of them.

themselves at the palace. They brought with them a thousand elephants resembling the waves of a troubled sea which were covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned in which were jugglers and artificers. On the trunks and ears of these animals had been drawn with cinabar and other substances, extraordinary pictures and figures of wonderful beauty, when the chiefs of the army with the eminent personages and learned Brahmins from each province, as well as the elephants, were collected at the appointed time of the palace. During three consecutive days in the month of Rajab, the vast space of land magnificently decorated, in which the enormous elephants were congregated together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea; or of that compact mass of men which will be assembled together at the day of the resurrection. Over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions to the height of three, four, or even five stories covered from top to bottom with numerous figures in relief. They represented everything that the imagination can picture—men, wild beasts, birds and animals of every kind, down to flies and gnats. Everything was drawn with extraordinary skill and delicacy. Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face; at each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view. In the front of this place rose a palace with nine pavilions magnificently ornamented. In the ninth the King's throne was set up. In the seventh was allotted a place to the humble author of this narrative. Between the palace and the pavilions in an extremely beautiful situation were large numbers of musicians and story-tellers.*

* Monarchs usually sit on the throne on the Vijaya Dasami, the tenth day of the Mahanavami and all the gods in the town, as well as the people, go to "Bunni" and worship that tree and take some leaves from it. This was the tree in which Arjuna, the most famous of the Pandavas, kept his

There were numberless performances given by jugglers who displayed elephants marvellously trained. They execute some feats of skill which are quite wonderful. As regards the training of the elephants, Razaak speaks in a tone of great admiration. He observes that "they

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arms, when they went to serve under Virata *incognito*. The three days' festival mentioned by Razaak would also fit into Mahanavami rather than to "New Year's day." The last three days of this feast are the most important—Durgastami, Mahanavami and Vijaya Dasami. On the first day pooja to Goddess Durga is performed specially by the royal classes. Durga represents political and magisterial power. The second day would be the Ayudha Pooja—worship to the Goddess of arms—which was performed with great enthusiasm by the royal personages, and the third day would be Vijaya Dasami—the day on which they would celebrate their march of triumph. On other days ordinary festivities are held. One who reads the description of Razaak, of this "Mahanadi" festival, and who has intimate knowledge of the Mahanavami and the Hindu customs, at once sees that this refers to some other festival than Mahanavami. The absence of the mention of any procession of the local gods and the King on the last day strikes one that it was not a Vijaya Dasami. "Mahanadu" in Sanskrit means the general public of the whole empire. It is possible that the Vijayanagar emperors with a view to meet all the important personages in their dominions once in a year, may have devised a festival lasting for three days under the name of "Mahanadu." If so that would be made the occasion of the grandest festivities in the capital, and would necessarily be attended by all the provincial governors and viceroys, whose number came up to about 200. If the feast described was really "Mahanavami" there would not have been so much change in the name by Razaak. The rulers in other provinces had their own "thrones" and Vijaya Dasami would have been celebrated by each one of them in his own place. Razaak's entire silence regarding any procession of gods in the city so characteristic on Vijaya Dasami strikes a hard blow to the guesses of Elliot and Sewell. In the history of Mysore, Krishna Raja Odeyar was deposed by the British in A.D. 1832, on the rising of a "Mahanadu," which represented a general rising. This special feast may have disappeared with the fall of this empire.

The Persian ambassador seems to have been wonderfully impressed with the beauty of the dancing girls and his description is simply graphic. He says "that there were some girls with cheeks as full as the moon and with faces more lovely than the spring, clothed in magnificent dresses and showing features, which like the freshest rose, charmed every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the pretty King. On a sudden the curtain was raised, and fell, and the damsels arranged themselves for the dance with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind.

place three pieces of wood on the ground touching each other, each measuring 1 cubit in length, ½ in breadth and ¾ in height. On the top of the two first, they place two other pieces of nearly the same length and breadth and above the second piece, they place another a little smaller, so that the first and second pieces of wood form as it were steps by which to reach the third piece. A large elephant trained to this exercise stepping upon the first and second, ascends the third, the surface of which is scarcely broader than the sole of one of the feet of this animal. While the elephant supports himself with his four feet upon this beam, they raise behind him the other pieces of wood. The animal once placed on the top of this beam follows with his trunk all the airs which the musicians play and moving in cadence with the time raises and lowers his trunk alternately." *

During these three consecutive days from sunrise to sunset the royal festivities were extended in a style of the greatest magnificence. Fireworks, games and amusements went on. On the third day Abdur Razaak was presented to the King. He gives a very graphic description of the throne on which sat Deva Raya II. "The throne," observes the Persian ambassador, "which was of extraordinary size was made of gold and enriched with

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* Razaak gives another performance which looks even more wonderful than this. He says "that they erect a column of 10 *ghuz* high on the top of which they fix a long piece of wood, like the beam of scales, and which has a hole in the middle. At one end they attach a stone, the weight of which is equal to that of the elephant, and at the other end at the distance of one *ghuz* they place a plank which is one *ghuz* in length; by means of a cord they lower the end to which the plank is fastened and on this the elephant mounts. His keeper then lets go the cord little by little, until the two extremities of the piece of wood are exactly balanced like the beam of a pair of scales and at a height of 10 *ghuz*; this piece of wood, one end of which bears the elephant, and the other a stone of equal weight, turns after the fashion of a semi-circle making half a rotation from right to left in presence of the King, and in this elevated position, the elephant follows all the airs of the musicians, and makes the movements in cadence."

precious stones of extreme value. The whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable that in all kingdoms of the world the art of inlaying precious stones is nowhere better understood than in this country." Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sewn three rows of pearls. During the three days the King remained seated on this cushion. When the *fête* of Mahanadi was ended at the hour of evening prayer I was introduced into the middle of four estrades, which were about 10 *ghuz* both in length and breadth. The roof and the walls were entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious stones. Each of these plates was as thick as the blade of a sword and was fastened with golden nails. Upon the estrade in the front is placed the throne of the King and the throne itself is of very great size."

Mr. Sewell says "that the descriptions given by these travellers give us a good idea of the splendours of this great Hindu capital in the first half of the 15th century." The population of this city must have been immense. If Razaak's and Nicolo's statements ever approach truth, the strength of the army must be put down at five or six lacs at the lowest, of whom there must have been 200,000 or 300,000 troops always stationed at the capital or in its immediate neighbourhood both for its defence, and for the preservation of the dignity of this emperor, who was the "mightiest" in India, to "whom tribute was paid by Princes from Ceylon and Tennaserim," and "whose empire extended over the whole of Southern India, half of the Deccan and a great part of the coast of Orissa up to Bengal." There were many governors and viceroys in the provinces, and all of them necessarily had to maintain large establishments at the capital to watch their interests, and to inform them of the important events which took place in the royal city. A population of 20 to 25 lacs

at this time, would not at all exceed the actual figures, and its trade seems to have been enormous. The luxurious establishments of the palaces, and those of the principal officers, required a corresponding number of servants, workmen and traders of all classes, and these constant feasts and processions attracted numberless crowds from the neighbouring regions, which must have given great stimulus for trade, manufactures and commerce. The Princes of Vijayanagar were charitable, tolerant and condescending and these virtues of the greatest Hindu sovereigns of the day naturally attracted the best men to the royal city, in arts, in industries, in sciences, in engineering, in literature, and in religious devotion. The number of temples were unusually large, and they show that the people were greatly religious and they seem to have tolerated the worship of other religions with great generosity. The description given by Razaak of the moving pavilions of five stories "which could turn rapidly round, and present a new face, at each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view," and "the movements of the artificial lions, panthers, tigers, etc." taxes our belief a great deal, but the existence of such pavilions figures seems to be perfectly true, since the Persian ambassador wrote what he clearly saw himself, and therefore we have the best evidence possible before us for believing in their existence. The workmen must certainly have been very skilful and ingenius, to have produced such wonderful structures and these "magnificent pavilions" seem to have struck Abdur Razaak, with special delight and admiration. No modern cities exhibit such contrivances, and the best expositions of the 20th century have as yet been marked by their absence. Razaak's elephants' stables, seem to have been entirely destroyed. What we have now can only accommodate about a dozen animals. The Mint and other buildings have also disappeared. From a careful perusal of all the

records, it seems clear that the royal city of Vijayanagar had assumed a proportion and magnificence during the time of the Deva Rayas which it kept up progressing till its merciless sack by the combined Mahomedans. The population probably increased with the increase of wealth and power, so that the city, must have been the grandest in India, if not in the whole world, during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya. Deva Rayas I. and II. were great monarchs, who did much to enlarge and beautify the city, to extend their empires, to consolidate their power, to improve the general condition of the masses, and to have maintained a state of royal magnificence, which could show few parallels, in the histories of other great and civilised nations. This royal city soon attracted the attention of the world by its wealth, magnificence, population, and extent. There was hardly any city in the whole of the world, which commanded such resources and power as Vijayanagar, and it well deserves the praise that was lavished upon it by European and Native travellers.*

* A couple of years ago H. E. Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, visited these ruins and when he stood in their midst, with his principal officers, those magnificent remains of former political power seem to have roused his sympathy by their silent grandeur and dumb eloquence, with the result that half-a-lac of rupees were at once sanctioned to remove the *débris* and preserve the noble edifices. Visitors now find these ruins in a state of cleanliness, which tempts them to stay there some time longer. Many underground structures have been unearthed in the palace precincts which are in very good state of preservation. Perhaps many more may be discovered, which would add grandeur to those which are already existing. Excavation processes carried on a larger scale under proper supervision, will, I am sure, lead to the discovery of many interesting facts.

The Temple of Malyavanta.

The Thungabhadra Scenery at Vijayanagar.

Old Ruins of Vijayanagar.

A portion of Hazar Ramaswamy Temple, within the Temple at Vijayanagar.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha Rayas.

The periods allotted by European historians to Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, respectively, have not been properly supported by documentary evidence. Mr. Sewell in his "Forgotten Empire," seems to have entirely overlooked the existence of many inscriptions belonging to the times of these two monarchs. It would be better to quote Mr. Sewell first on these points and then solve his confusion in the light of later discovered inscriptions. Nuniz has been found to be quite inconsistent in his Chronicles which refer to this period of the history of Vijayanagar, and it is a matter of deep surprise that in spite of his errors about the dates of earlier Vijayanagar Princes, Mr. Sewell frequently appeals to Nuniz for support. Mr. Sewell observes: "Two sons of Deva Raya II., according to the inscriptions, were named Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, respectively. There are inscriptions of the former dated in A.D. 1452-53 and A.D. 1464-65 and one of the latter in A.D. 1470. Mallikarjuna appears to have had two sons, Rajasakhara, of whom we have inscriptions in the years A.D. 1479-80 and A.D. 1486-87, and Virupaksha II. mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1483-84, three years earlier than the last of Rajasakhara. Dr. Hultzsch in the third volume of E. I. p. 36, gives these dates, but in the fourth volume of the same work, page 180, he notes that an inscription of Rajasakhara exists at Ambur, in North Arcot, which is dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 1468-69." Mr. Sewell says that he heard of the existence of an inscription with Narayana Reddi, in Godamari, Anantapur District, bearing date S. 1398

(A.D. 1476-77), and to "mention as sovereign Proudha Deva Raya of Vijayanagar." "Rajasakhara's second inscription must have been engraved very shortly before the final fall of the old royal house, for the first certain date of the usurpur Narasimha is A.D. 1490."

When we turn to Mr. Rice, the information is even more meagre. He says: "Nothing of importance is known of the reigns of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha. The former had as his minister Thimmanna Dannayaka, lord of Nagamangala who had held the same office under his father. Mallikarjuna is described as being at Penukonda along with him engaged in the affairs of Narasimha's kingdom. This may therefore have been a powerful Chief whose possessions had escheated to the crown." *

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* Turning to "S. I. A." p. 245, Vol. II., by Mr. Sewell, the dates given for Mallikarjuna A.D. 1481 to A.D. 1487, Ramachendra A.D. 1487 to A.D. 1488, and Virupaksha A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1490, seem to be thoroughly disappointing. The copy of the "Raya Vamsavali" sent to me by the present Raja of Anagondi gives the following information :—Deva Raya II. was succeeded by his son Ramachendra, who ruled from A.D. 1449 to A.D. 1463. His son Virupaksha ruled from A.D. 1463 to A.D. 1472 when he was ousted on the throne by Narasimha, who ruled from A.D. 1472 to A.D. 1489. He founded on the throne of Vijayanagar what is called the second or Narasimha Dynasty and belonged altogether to a different stock of royal family. He was succeeded by his eldest son Vira Narasimha, who ruled from A.D. 1490 to A.D. 1508 and was succeeded by his step-brother, the great Krishna Deva Raya. Mr. Rice gives the following dates: Mallikarjuna, Immadi Deva Raya, Vijaya Raya II. or Proudha Deva Raya ruled from A.D. 1446 to A.D. 1467. Virupaksha Raya ruled from A.D. 1467 to A.D.1 479 and then comes Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 1479 to A D. 1487. His son Narasimha ruled from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1508. His brother Krishna Deva Raya ruled from A.D. 1508 to A.D. 1529. *See* pp. 96-97, F. E.—Sewell; pp. 346-352 Vol. I., M. G.—Rice. Drs. Burnell, Hultzsch, and Kielhorn, as well as Messrs. Sewell, Fleet, and Bishop Caldwell seem to have omitted the study of important inscriptions in this connection and to have based their conclusions on a superficial examination of the available documentary evidence.

Dr. Burnell introduces the name of Ramachendra as well as the "Raya Vamsavali," but the examination of a large number of inscriptions, drives the reader to the irresistible conclusion, that after Deva Raya II. his two sons Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha ruled until the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by the usurper Narasimha. Nuniz makes "Ajarao"

When we refer to the Madras District "Gazetteers," Bellary, we are still more disappointed to find the author placing reliance upon previous writers, whose inferences have been found to be quite misleading, without taking that trouble and care which, as a historian, he ought to have taken before he ushered facts into an authoritative publication like the one under notice. He observes "that the period which followed the death of Deva Raya II. in A.D. 1449 is one of confusion and uncertainty. It is known in A.D. 1490 one Narasimha who was in some way related to the royal family usurped the Vijayanagar throne, but after examining the available materials, Mr. Sewell comes to the conclusion that regarding the years which intervened between Deva Raya's death and Narasimha's *coup-d'état* all that can be definitely and safely stated at present is that . . . the kingdom passed from one hand to the other in the midst of much political agitation and wide-spread antagonism to the representatives of the old royal family, several of whom appeared to have met with violent deaths." . . . . . who the Narasimha who usurped the Vijayanagar throne in A.D. 1490 really was, and how he succeeded in ousting the old kings, is not altogether clear; nor are the events which immediately followed his

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rule up to A.D. 1442. After him comes Deorao II. who is given a reign of 25 years. This brings him to A.D. 1467. His son Pinarao came after him and ruled for 12 years. This comes up to A.D. 1479. It is this king that is said by Nuniz "to have been killed by treason by the hand of a nephew whom he had brought up in his house like a son." After him succeeded his son—not named by Nuniz or does he give the length of his reign—who gave away "a fifth part of the treasure of his kingdom to the pagodas," and Nuniz seems to say in a bitter tone, that "no law is possible in the country where these pagodas are." The Portuguese Chronicler continues: "On the death of this king succeeded a son named Virupaza Rao." This king was killed by his eldest son, and he in turn was killed by his younger brother called by Nuniz Padeo Rao. "He gave himself up to the habits of his father, and abandoning himself to his women, and not seeking to know aught regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city." "He was ousted by one of his captains, Narsymga," who of course founded the second dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar. *See* p. 241, Chap. XIII.

accession. He seems to have been a strong ruler, who checked the Mahomedan aggressions which the weaknesses of his predecessors had permitted and who once more consolidated the Empire. Ferista says that he won back, from the King of Bijapur who then held it, the Raichore Doab, but lost it again almost immediately. He was apparently succeeded by his minister Narsa Naik, and the latter's son, the famous Krishna Deva, followed in A.D. 1509, the year that Henry VIII. ascended the throne of England."*

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* Madras District "Gazetteers" Bellary, by W. Francis, I.C.S., A.D. 1904:—"It is a great pity that a valuable publication, which is the first of the District 'Gazetteers' to be prepared in accordance with the new system" under the authority of the Government, should have been published in such great haste, and without any careful perusal of the reliable evidence that has already been before the public. Mr. Francis has, however, the candour to say that "the book has been written in haste in the intervals of other work and has claims on this ground to a lenient judgment on its shortcomings." He further says that "thanks are due to many persons who have assisted with it, ... but special obligations have been incurred to Mr. R. Sewell, who has been good enough to help with Chapter II., and to Mr. D. W. G. Cowie, the present Collector of the District and his predecessor Mr. R. C. C. Carr, who have kindly read the proofs of the remainder." Mr. Francis apparently does not seem to have realised his duties as a historian and betrays further great haste in his reading of even Mr. Sewell's observations in his "Forgotten Empire." As this "Gazetteer" seems to be the first of its kind, it may not be out of place here to suggest to the Government of Madras that when the succeeding "Gazetteers" make their appearance, the writers—whoever they happen to be—may be specially asked to read carefully all the available historical information which is before them and to publish only such as could be best supported by undisputed documentary evidence. Mr. Francis introduces confusion on his own authority, into historical facts which have the best evidence for their support. It is really surprising to see that in the hands of Mr. Francis Krishna Deva Raya becomes the son of Narasa Naik, who is made to appear as the minister of the usurper Narasimha. Mr. R. Sewell his great authority, completely contradicts him in this matter and the famous Krishna Deva Raya himself in his immortal work "Amukta Malyada," clearly says that he is the son of Narasimha—the founder of the second dynasty—and the step-brother of Vira Narasimha, who succeeded his father on the throne of Vijayanagar and whom he succeeded. Mr. Francis is wisely silent about his authorities for his statements and the consequent confusion he introduces into his history. *See* "Amukta Malyada," Aswasa I., stanzas 24—33; "Manucharitra," by Allasani Peddana, Aswasa I., stanzas 31, 32, 33; "Parijatapaharana," by

There are about 16 inscriptions commencing from A.D. 1447 and leading the readers to A.D. 1464; which commemorate the reign of Mallikarjuna Maharaya and the genealogies are unanimous in saying that Mallikarjuna was the son of Deva Raya II. by Ponnala Devi. There are about 10 inscriptions which clearly mention the reign of Virupaksha Raya and they range from A.D. 1469 to A.D. 1478. There are also 11 inscriptions which apparently belong to this period, but which do not mention the name of the ruler at the time when they were engraved. There is an inscription dated A.D. 1484 which mentions the name of Katari Saluva Narasingaraya and his house minister Virupaksha, as granting a village called Chunchanhalli in Arni Sthala.*

Mukku Timmana, pp. 37—38, Chapter II; "M. D. G.," Bellary, by W. Francis, p. 352, Vol. I.; "M. G.," by L. Rice, p. 113, Chapter IX, "F. E.," by R. Sewell, p. 248, Vol. II.; "S. I. A," by R. Sewell. Krishna Deva Raya gives his genealogy in clear language. He says from Chandra sprang Buda. In his line came Pururava, then came Ayoo, then Yayati; he had two sons Yadu and Durvasu. In the illustrious family of Durvasu sprang many powerful Princes. In it arose Thimma Kshitipathi. By his wife Devaki he got Iswara. Iswara had by Bukkamba two sons, Thimmaraja and Narasimharaja (founder of the second dynasty). Narasimha had by Thippamba Vira Narasimha Raya, and by Nagamamba Krishna Deva Raya. It is not in the course of human nature to quote false names for one's own father and grandfather, and when the great emperor Krishna Deva Raya himself publicly makes a statement about his father and brother and the order of succession to the throne of Vijayanagar, I really fail to see the logic of history-makers to introduce unnecessary confusion about clearly established facts and figures. *See* No. 1 Shimoga, "E. C."—L. Rice.

* The original bears no Saka year, but only mentions the cyclic year Krodhi which tallies with A.D. 1484. *See* No. 59 Nagamangala—Rice. Probably the use of the words Katari Saluva may have induced Mr. Rice to conjecture that the inscription belongs to Narasimha—founder of the second dynasty. Narasimha by this *sasana* appears to have already risen to great prominence to be in a position to command an important officer like a house minister in his palace establishment. As the original is silent about the name of the capital and the Saka year, it becomes difficult to venture any reasonable guess as to the identity of this Saluva Narasimha. Some of the guesses of Mr. L. Rice often seem to be funny and confuse his careful readers to a considerable extent. It may be pointed out that in No. 79 Nagamangala, while the original gives the Saka year A.D. 1493

Mallikarjuna was also called Immadi Proudha Deva Raya, Immadi Deva Raya, and Veera Pratapa Deva Raya. He was named after the God Mallikarjuna of Sri Giri. Thimmana Danda Naika was his Maha Pradhan (chief minister), who accompanied his royal master to Penukonda to settle the state affairs of Narasinga's kingdom. During his reign the Guru of Hayvve Dravidas residing at Gocarna seems to have received special concessions. An inscription mentions that Mallikarjuna was protecting the Varnashrama Dharmas and tolerated freely the different forms of religious worship. Hamparsa of the customs department made a large endowment to God Mallikarjuna of Sri Giri, in order that merit may accrue to his royal master. This shows that he was popular like Harihara II., and was

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Nandana, Mr. Rice has the ability to put down the corresponding Christian year as A.D. 1394 in his translation and to put only 14 . . . . in his transliteration. His authority as a historian and archæologist is indeed great, but the conversion of Saka into English years apparently requires superhuman mathematical acumen to understand his processes, for ordinary mathematics would give us only S. 1493 + 78 = A.D. 1571. The cyclic year Nandana does not fit either with S. 1493 or A.D. 1394. *See* pp. 133, 231, 385, Vol. IV., "E. C."—Rice. Again in No. 74 Heggadadevanakotay, though the Saka year is clearly given as A.D. 1400, Mr. Rice converts it into A.D. 1498, liberally subscribing 20 years from his imagination towards the figure 78, which must be added to the Saka year to make it correspond with the English year. This *sasana* speaks of Saluva Narasimha. Further in No. 41 Gundlepet, Mr. Rice puts A.D. 1535 for the cyclic year Manmatha. The Saka year is not given in the original. This *sasana* refers to Maharajadhi Raja Saluva Narasimha Raja. As a matter of established historical fact we know Achyuta Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar in A.D. 1535. Mr. Rice would have been more consistent if he had converted the cyclic year Manmatha into A.D. 1475 as then Saluva Narasimha was already powerful enough—if not actually on the throne of Vijayanagar—to attract sufficient notice. There is much confusion about the exact date of his usurpation. An inscription dated S. Vikriti 1393 (A.D. 1471) found at Avur, South Arcot District, states that a private grant was made during the reign of Narasimha Deva of Vijayanagar. "Raya Vamsavali" says that Narasimha came to the throne in A.D. 1472. The two *sasanas* Nos. 74 and 41 quoted already, seem to refer clearly to usurper Saluva Narasimha. The years when correctly interpreted seem to tally with A.D. 1478 and A.D. 1475, respectively, when Narasimha was already on the throne or had raised himself as the foremost man in the empire of Vijayanagar.

beloved by his officers and subjects. Mallikarjuna seems to have got a son in S. 1386 or A.D. 1464 in the year Swabhanu, as he granted a village in honor of the festival of giving him a name (Namakarna), in the great Araga kingdom. What became of this son, we have no reliable information to guide us. References are also made in these *sasanas* to grants of land on terms of Shrotria Agraharas (Kattuguttiga Vritti) for the purpose of planting arecanut trees, and also for the impounding of cattle, which probably strayed into other's lands or village fields. Mallikarjuna gave a copper-plate grant to Raghavaswara Bharati Sripada in Gocarna, and seems to have been specially interested in the Hayvve Brahmins. The *sasana* refers to an original grant by Vidyaranya to Chidbodha Bharati and Mallikarjuna while confirming the previous grant of the great sage made some additions in the shape of permission to use two five-branched torches, five kalasas above the palanquin and so forth. Turning to "Raya Vamsavali"—sent to me by the present Raja of Anagondi—it is found that Deva Raya II. ruled from A.D. 1424 to A.D. 1449 (S. 1346 to 1371). The name of Mallikarjuna is entirely omitted in this list and one Ramachendra Raya, is named as the son and successor of Deva Raya II. who ruled from A.D. 1449 to A.D. 1463. This period generally coincides with the rule of Mallikarjuna Maharaya, and probably Mallikarjuna, in addition to his various names already quoted, may have been also called Ramachendra. All the inscriptions are unanimous about Mallikarjuna's rule, and the difficulty cannot be solved by any other supposition. Ramachendra was succeeded on the throne by his son Virupaksha, and he reigned from A.D. 1463 to A.D. 1472, when he was ousted by Narasimha Raya, a close relation of the Karnata Prince named Sriranga Deva Raya, who was the 11th in direct descent from Bijjala Raya, the elder brother of Vijayadhwaja (founder of Vijayanagar), and who sent Saluva Narasimha, probably one of his feudatories, with a

powerful army to recover the kingdom for him as it formed a part of his ancestral territories. Narasimha here is made to rule from A.D. 1472 to A.D. 1489 and was succeeded by his eldest son Vira Narasimha, who ruled from A.D. 1489 to A.D. 1508. During these 19 years of his rule Krishna Deva Raya, his brother by a different mother, acted the part of his chief minister and general and conducted the work entrusted to him with singular ability and tact. According to certain verses current in Telugu literature Krishna Deva Raya was alleged to have been born in Vikriti, S. 1387 or A.D. 1465. If so, Krishna Deva was 24 years old when Vira Narasimha ascended the throne of his father and 44 years old when he succeeded his brother on the throne of Vijayanagar. He is alleged to have acted the part of a minister to his brother for about 20 years, and probably was entrusted with important military operations during that time. If this is believable Krishna Deva Raya was almost at the head of the Vijayanagar affairs for about 40 years.*

So far as the genealogical trees are given in the *sasanas* the names of the sovereigns and the order of succession, appear to be in perfect agreement with each other, and this, if carefully considered, should once for all set the historians on the right track and enable them to weave out a consistent history of Vijayanagar rulers of the first or Sangama Dynasty.†

The first *sasana* of Mallikarjuna is dated in the cyclic year Prabhava S. 1369 (A.D. 1447) and this following closely upon the inscription (Sravana Belagola) of Kskaya, S. 1368 when Deva Raya II. died, confirms beautifully well the

* *See* p. 245, Vol. II. "S. I. A."—Sewell.
"Raya Vamsavali" with the Raja of Anagondi.
No. 96 Hunsur; No. 167 Sorab; No. 194 Tirthahalli; No. 12 Mandya; No. 68 Nagar; No. 206 Tirthahalli, "E. C."—Rice.

† *See* No. 39. Srerangapatam.; No. 65 Nagar; No. 133 Srerangapatam; No. 69 Nagar, and No. 121 Malavalli, "E. C."—Rice.

succession of Mallikarjuna on the throne of his great father. The latest inscription as yet discovered belonging to the period of Mallikarjuna is dated Parthiva, S. 1387 (A.D. 1465) which records grants to God Arkanatha during the reign of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya (Mallikarjuna).*

As regards the relationship of Virupaksha to Mallikarjuna, we have only a few inscriptions to guide us. In an inscription dated Rutu Randhra Gunu Vidhu, S. 1396 (A. D. 1474) the genealogy of the reigning sovereign Virupaksha is given, and this clearly enables us to fix correctly the relationship of the two last emperors of the first dynasty who ruled in Vijayanagar. It says that in Yadu Vamsa arose, the fortunate Sangama, from whom sprang Bukka Bhoopala. From him sprang Harihara Mahipala (II.), whose wife was Mala Devi. Their son was Pratapa Deva Raya I (Bukka II). His wife was Demambika and from them came Vira Vijaya Bhupathi. To him by Narayana Devi, was born Pratapa Mahipathi (Deva Raya II). His wife was Simhala Devi and their son was Virupaksha. Here we have a distinct statement that Virupaksha was the son of Deva Raya II. by his wife Simhala Devi. It will be remembered that at the time of the attempted assassination of Deva Raya II. noted so accurately by Abdur Razaak—his minister or Dannaik had gone towards Ceylon, and he was hastily sent for. Probably this was to arrange for an alliance between the great emperor Deva Raya II. and one of the daughters of the King of Ceylon. Simhala Devi clearly represents as having come from Simhala Dwipa, (Ceylon) and the son born of her was Virupaksha. Thus the fact that Virupaksha was a son of Deva Raya II. has been clearly made out.

Now turning to several inscriptions, belonging to the period of Mallikarjuna, we find the genealogies correctly given as above quoted, except that the reigning sovereign is

* *See.* No. 239 Shikarpur. No. 64 Malavalli, "E. C."—Rice.

naturally mentioned as Mallikarjuna or Immadi Proudha Deva Raya. An inscription dated Bhava, S. 1376 (A. D. 1455.) states that in the Chandra Vamsa arose Yadu. In that family sprang the king Sangama. From him came Bukka Raya, who by Gouri had the son Harihara II. He by Melambika had the son Pratapa Deva Raya I. To him and Demambika was born Vijaya Bhupathi. He by Narayana Devi had the son Proudha Pratapa Deva Raya II. His queen was Ponnala Devi, by whom he had a son Mallikarjuna. Thus we see that up to Deva Rya II. the pedigrees are in perfect agreement. Deva Raya II. had apparently two principal queens Ponnala Devi and Simhala Devi and Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha were the sons of the two queens, respectively. Here the relationship is clearly established and Virupaksha appears to have been the younger brother of Mallikarjuna.*

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* *See* No. 121 Malavalli, " E. C."—Rice.

In this inscription, the words " Nijagraja" appear in the original, and they seem to have taxed severely the brain of Mr. Rice, who says in his translation "that Pratapa Mahipatti obtained the immemorial kingdom from his elder sister (?)" The original runs thus: "Thasya . . . Nijagraja Prapta Manadi Rajia, &c." . . . These verses are apparently confusing in their interpretations. The empire of Vijayanagar descended regularly from Harihara I. to his brother Bukka I. Then came his son Harihara II., and he was succeeded by his son Bukka II. or Deva Raya I. After him came his son Vijaya Bhupathi, and he was succeeded by his son Deva Raya II. Almost all these Princes had two or more names. But so far, all the inscriptional genealogies are one in stating correctly the above relationship and the order of succession and it would be absurd to refer the word "Thasya Nijagraja" to Deva Raya II. and make him inherit, his kingdom from his elder sister. "Anadi" stands for immemorial or ancient kingdom, and Nija (true) and Agraja (born before) refers (1) either to the brother who was before, or (2) to those who were in existence before or those who were born before—*i.e.*, figuratively, those who went before as kings. In the *sasana*, the word "Agraja" seems to have been either misplaced or miscopied. If "Thasya" refers to Virupaksha, then his "Nijagraja" will be certainly Mallikarjuna from whom he obtained the immemorial kingdom. He did not inherit it from his father directly. As the correct history of these Princes is now clearly known in the light of so many valuable inscriptions, it would be simply waste of time to introduce wild guesses, and then spend the midnight oil upon their useless and unprofitable discussions. To me the word appears to mean 'that Virupaksha

The first inscription of Virupaksha is dated Sarwajit, S. 1389 (A.D. 1468), and the last is dated Vilambi, S. 1400 (A.D. 1478). The Malavalli inscription quoted above contains some injunctions to the Brahmins, which are of special interest as showing that the Brahmins had already begun to mortgage or sell away their shares in the free Agraharas which were given to them by the Princes of Vijayanagar or other private charitable persons. It says "that if any Brahmin shareholder, mortgage or sell his share to the Sudras he shall be put out of the Brahmin community and such shares shall not belong to this place."

As the closing days of the first dynasty, are involved in great uncertainty and obscurity, and as we have to go into some details regarding the history of the Deccan Mahomedans and the rise of a new sovereign Saluva Narasimha in Vijayanagar, these important questions will be taken up at length in our Part II. of this history; which will be issued separately. The empire of Vijayanagar seems to have suffered a great deal during the last days of Virupaksha. Study of inscription history is sadly disappointing in giving particulars as to the death of these two monarchs, as to the work they did, as to the condition of the people, as to the power of the Princes and the feudatories who served under them, and as to how such a powerful empire with unbounded resources at its command, could have easily been usurped, by a hitherto unknown

obtained his kingdom from his "Nijagraja" Mallikarjuna—brother born before him—or if "Thasya" is persistently made to refer to Deva Raya II., "Nijagraja" simply means that he obtained this kingdom from those who went before him, *i.e.*, his ancestors. In either way the confusion, of bringing in a female from whom the kingdom was supposed to have been inherited by Deva Raya II., may be avoided. This usage of the word has support in the well-known works of Sanskrit scholars. Deva Raya I. died in July, A.D. 1422. Vijaya ruled for a few months. Deva Raya II. ruled from A.D. 1423, and he died in A.D. 1446. There was no break in the rule and the throne descended directly from the father to the son from Bukka I. Evidence is as clear as we could wish it to be. *See* pp. 248, 264, 278.

and insignificant person like Saluva Narasimha. Absence of reliable information may justify readers of this part of Vijayanagar history, to draw certain inferences regarding the character and incapacity of the ruling monarchs in a manner greatly prejudicial to them, but such inferences may at any time, be upset by the discovery of undisputed documentary evidence. There is still much work to be done in the fields of archæology, and the work which may be done hereafter, must be done with extra care and devotion to produce satisfactory results. Narasimha, from all these accounts, appears to have been ruling at Vijayanagar much earlier than the date fixed for him by the past writers on this history—namely A.D. 1490. From A.D. 1465 no inscriptions are forthcoming which recognise Mallikarjuna as ruling the empire, and the inscriptions of Virupaksha go up to A.D. 1475 or even up to A.D. 1478. There are some inscriptions which refer to Saluva Narasimha earlier than the above dates, and we shall carefully discuss these important points in our next chapter.

An inscription dated S. 1400 (A.D. 1478) clearly states, that when Maharajadhi Raja Raja Parameswara Sri Virapratapa Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in Hastinavati (Vijayanagar) in peace and prosperity, Amara Naika, the great feudatory, champion over three Rajas, etc., Savanna Odeyar's house watchman Bommeya Naika—by his lord's order—built a Gopura for the God Prasanna Kesava of the immemorial Agrahara Amritanantapura (Kollatur near Kanchi) and granted lands for worship and feeding.*

A *sasana* dated Manmatha, S. 1397 (A.D. 1475), records clearly that when Sri Virupaksha Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar, certain Gaudas bought land for the God Kesava of Kasaraguppe in Ede nad in the Chandragutti nad.†

* No. 153 Chennarayapatna, "E. C."—Rice.

† No. 527 Sorab, "E. C."—Rice.

An inscription under date Nandana, S. 1395 (A.D. 1473) declares that when the glory of the Isarakula, the great Maharaja Virupaksha was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom and the great champion Bhairanna Nayaka was ruling in Horaguppe Hebhayal Nad, Haivanna Nayaka, in order that merit might accrue to them, had the Parswanatha Tirthankara Chaityalaya made in Iduvane.*

Another inscription says that when Vira Pratapa Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling in Vidyanagar—and by that King's order—Devappa Dannayaka was protecting the Araga kingdom, some persons fought at Yalayasale and a Virukal was set up.†

From these and other inscriptions it seems reasonable to suppose that Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling nominally or really till about A.D. 1478 and that Narasimha Raya was either acting under his orders and gaining power or was one of those feudatories who, seeking proper opportunities, took advantage of the weak government at the capital, gathered forces and ousted the lineal descendants of the first dynasty by his superior valour, popularity and personal influence.

* No. 60 Sagar, "E. C."—Rice.

† No. 143 Tirthahalli, "E. C."—Rice.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY KINGS OF ANAGONDI.

From the "Raya Vamsavali," two separate copies of which were sent to me by the present Raja of Anagondi. I have also seen personally the old scroll the Raja preserves in his box. NANDA MAHARAJA traces his descent directly from the Moon.

NANDA MAHARAJA ruled at Kishkindha, Anagondi.
(1014 to 1076 A.D.)

He seems to have been a fugitive Prince from his native country of Bahlika, who travelled to the South and established his power at Kishkindha.

|

CHALUKYA MAHARAYA ruled at Anagondi.
(1076 to 1117 A.D.)

|

1. BIJJALA RAYA went to Kalyanapura and established a separate dynasty. The period well tallies with the Kalachuri king, who died in 1164 A.D. and who established a short dynasty at Kalyan.

2. VIJAYADWAJA (1117 to 1156 A.D.) built a new city on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra and called it Vijayanagar. Probable date of building it: 1150 A.D.

3. Vishnu Vardhana: no further references to him in the Raya Vamsavali.

|

ANUVEMA.
(1155 to 1179 A.D.)

|

NARASIMHA DEVA RAYA.
(1179 to 1246 A.D.=67 years)

The kingdom probably was called on this account by the Mahomedans as Narsymga. See also C. P. grant, dated 1250 A.D., with the present Raja of Anagondi.

|

RAMA DEVA RAYA.
(1246 to 1271 A.D.)

|

PRÁTAPA RAYA.
(1271 to 1297 A.D.)

|

JAMBUKESWARA RAYA.
(1297 to 1334 A.D.)

Jambukeswara died issueless. Vidyaranya returned from Sringeri, where he was ordained as Guru in 1331 A.D., caused rain of gold, and founded the new dynasty of Sangama on the throne of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D. (Sasana in Hampi Temple).

GENEALOGY OF THE SANGAMA OR THE FIRST DYNASTY WHICH SAT ON THE THRONE OF VIJAYANAGAR. ESTABLISHED BY SRI VIDYARANYA.

BUKKA *m.* MANGAMBA.

SANGAMA RAJA *m.* MALAMBIKA (also called Sarada).

1. HARIHARA I. (ruled at Vijayanagar from 1336 to 1354 A.D. *See* Nos. 104, 110, Sorab, E.C. Rice.
2. Kampa. — Sangama.
3. BUKKA I. (ruled from 1354 to 1377 A.D.)
4. Marappa.
5. Muddappa.

Bukka I. — Five sons by different queens.

1. By Honnaye or Gourambika. — HARIHARA II. (1377 to 1404 A.D.)
2. By Jenema Devi Virupanna Odeyar.
3. Bhaskara.
4. Thippa Raja.
5. Chikka Raja.

Harihara II. — 3 sons.

1. Sadasiva Maharaya ruled for a short time in 1407 A.D.
2. BUKKA II. OR DEVA RAYA I. (1404 to 1422 A.D.)
3. Virupaksha Maharaya who is stated to have sat on the throne of Vijayanagar in Nov. 1404 A.D.

Bukka II. or Deva Raya I. — 5 sons.

1. By Pampa Devi had VIJAYA RAYA I. (1422 to 1423 A.D.) Had by Narayanambika had two sons and a daughter.
2. Bhaskara.
3. Mallana Odeyar.
4. Harihara.
5. one who was murdered by the cauzy.

Vijaya Raya I. — DEVA RAYA II. the Great (1423 to May 1446 A.D.).

The Persian Ambassador Abdur Razaak visited Vijayanagar and was presented to this Emperor. He gives a very grand and picturesque description of this magnificent city, its feasts wealth, extent, and power.

Deva Raya II.:

- MALLIKARJUNA RAYA (1446 to 1465 A.D.). There are about 20 inscriptions speaking to this fact.
- VIRUPAKSHA RAYA (1469 to 1478 A.D.) There are a dozen sasanas which prove this fact. With this Prince ended the first dynasty at Vijayanagar.

Then Saluva Narasimha, father of the great Krishna Deva Rayalu, probably ousted the legitimate heirs and usurped the throne of Vijayanagar.

GENEALOGY OF THE BAHAMINI SULTANS.

ALLA-UD-DIN HASSAN GUNGOO BHAMINI. Founder of the Deccan Bahamini Kingdom.

He was originally a menial brought up by a Brahmin, named Gungoo, at Delhi, and he eventually rose to the position of a king.

(1347 to 1358 A.D.)

|

MUHAMMED SHAH I.
(1358 to 1375 A.D.)

|

MUJAHID SHAH.
(1375 to 1378 A.D.)

|

DAUD SHAH.
(1378 A.D.)

|

MAHMUD SHAH I.
(1378 to 1397 A.D.)

|

GHIYAS-UD-DIN SHAH.
(1397 A.D.)

|

SHAMS-UD-DIN SHAH.
(1397 A.D.)

|

FEROZ SHAH.
(1397 to 1422 A.D.)

|

AHMED SHAH WALI.
(1422 to 1435 A.D.)

|

ALA-UD-DIN SHAH II.
(1435 to 1457 A.D.)

|

HUMAYUN—the Cruel.
(1457 to 1461 A.D.)

|

NIZAM SHAH.
(1461 to 1463 A.D.)

|

MUHAMMED SHAH II.
(1463 to 1482 A.D.)

|

MAHMUD II.
(1482 to 1518 A.D.)

|

AHAMED SHAH II.
(1518 to 1520 A.D.

|

ALLA-UD-DIN SHAH III.
(1520 to 1522 A.D.)

|

WALI-ULLA
1522 to 1525 A.D.

|

KALAM-ULLAH.
(1525 to 1527 A.D.)

GENEALOGY OF THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

SIMHA I.

|

MALLUGI.

|

Bhillama founded Deogiri—had severe wars with the Hoysalas—suffered defeat at Lakkundi at their hands—
(1187 to 1191 A.D.)

|

JAITUGI I. OR JAITRAPALA OR JAITRA SIMHA
(1191 to 1210 A.D.)

|

SINGHANA II. OR TRIBUVANA MALLA.
(1210 to 1247 A.D.)

|

JAITUGI II.

|

KRISHNA, KANHARA OR KANDHARA.
(1247 to 1260 A.D.)

|

MAHADEVA OR URUGASARVABHAUMA.
(1260 to 1271 A.D.)

|

RAMACHUNDRA OR RAMA DEVA—wars with Mahomedans.
(1271 to 1309 A.D.)

|

SANKARA.
(1309 to 1312 A.D.)

|

Brother-in-law HARIPALA.
(1312 to 1318 A.D.)

GENEALOGY OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS

JAYA SIMHA

RANA RAGA

PULIKESI I., or Satyasrya Sri Prithivi Vallabha, performed Aswamedha, or horse sacrifice, and must have been master of a large and prosperous kingdom. (550 to 567 A.D.)

Made Vatapipura (Badami) his capital.

KIRTIVARMA I. (567 to 591 A.D.) his brother.

MANGALESÁ (591 to 610 A.D.)

1. Pulikesi II., or Satyasrya Sri Prithivi Vallabha, (610 to 642 A.D.), the greatest of the Chalukyan Emperors. The great Chinese Traveller, Huin Tsiang, visited him and has left a graphic description of this great monarch. Pulikesi, Vishnu Vardhana, and Jayasimha are the sons of Kirtivarma I. and therefore nephews of Mangalesa. Pulikesi defeated Harsha Vardhana, Emperor of all Northern India, who marched against Pulikesi II. with 60,000 elephants and a corresponding host of Cavalry and Infantry.

2. Vishnu Vardhana, founder of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty, at Rajamahandri.

3. Jayasimha.

VIKRAMADITYA I. (642 to 679 A.D.)

VINAYADITYA YUDDHAMALLA SATYASRAYA (680 to 696 A.D.)

VIJAYADITYA SAMASTA BHUVANASARAYA (696 to 733 A.D.)

VIKRAMADITYA II. (733 to 747 A.D.)

KIRTIVARMA II. (747 to 757 A. D.).

He was deprived of supreme authority by Dantidurga about 753 A. D. For more than two centuries the Western Chalukyan power was considerably weakened and the territories they ruled were greatly narrowed. The glory of the Chalukyan power was partly revived by Taila I.

TAILA I.
(973 to 997 A.D.)

SATYASRYA, IRIVIBHUJANGA
(997 to 1008 A.D.)

VIKRAMADITYA III.
(1008 to 1018 A.D.)

JAYASIMHA JAGADEKA MALLA I.
(1018 to 1040 A.D.)

SOMESWARA I., AHAVA MALLA, TRAILOKYA MALLA
(1040 to 1069 A.D.)

SOMESWARA II., BHUVANAIKA MALLA
(1069 to 1076 A.D.)

VIKRAMADITYA IV.
Tribhuvana Malla.
(1076 to 1126 A.D.)

He was a great Prince, patron of literature, and conqueror. The famous author of "Mitakshara Vignanaswara" honoured his court, as also Bilhana. From "Vikramankacharitra" we get many interesting details relating to laws and customs then prevailing.

SOMESWARA III., BHULOKA MALLA
(1126 to 1138 A.D.)

JAGADAKA MALLA II.
(1138 to 1150 A.D.)

TAILAPPA II., TRILOKYA MALLA NURMADI
(1150 to 1165 A.D.)

SOMESWARA IV., TRIBHUVANA MALLA
(1182 to 1189 A.D.)

GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS.

KIRTIVARMA I.
(567 to 591 A.D.)
had three sons.

PULIKESI II., Satyasrya. The great Western Chalukyan Emperor.	KUBJA VISHNU VARDHANA who founded the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty. (615 to 633 A.D.)	JAYA SIMHA.

JAYA SIMHÁ
(633 to 663 A.D.)

INDRA BHATTARAKA
(663 A.D.)

VISHNU VARDHANA II.
(663 to 672 A.D.)

MANGI YUVARAJA
(672 to 696 A.D.)

JAYA SIMHA II.
(696 to 709 A.D.)

KOKKILI
(709 A.D.)

VISHNU VARDHANA III.
(709 to 746 A.D.)

VIJAYADITYA BHATTARAKA
(746 to 764 A.D.)

VISHNU VARDHANA IV.
(764 to 799 A.D.)

VIJAYADITYA II., NARENDRA MRIGARAJA
(799 to 843 A.D.)

KALI VISHNU VARDHANA V.
(843 to 844 A.D.)

GUNAKA VIJAYADITYA III.
(844 to 888 A.D.)

CHALUKYA BHIMA I.
(888 to 918 A.D.)

KOLLABHIGANDA VIJAYADITYA IV.
(918 A.D.)

AMMA I. OR VISHNU VARDHANA VI., RAJAMAHENDRA
(918 to 925 A.D.)

BETA VIJAYADITYA V.
(925 A.D.)

TADAPA
(925 A.D.)

TADAPA
(925 A.D.)
|
VIKRAMADITYA II.
(926 A.D.)
|
BHIMA II.
(927 A.D.)
|
YUDDHA MALLA
(927 to 934 A.D.)
|
CHALUKYA BHIMA III. or VISHNU VARDHANA VII., GUNDA MAHENDRA
m. LOKÁMAHA DEVI.
(934 to 945 A.D.)
|
AMMA II., VIJAYADITYA VI., RAJAMAHENDRA.
(945 to 970 A.D.)
|
DHANARNAVA
(970 to 973 A.D.)
Interregnum for nearly 30 years.
|
SAKTI VARMA
(1003 to 1015 A.D.)
|
VIMALADITYA *m.* Kundava or Kundamba, daughter of Raja Raja Chola
and sister of Kulottunga I.
(1015 to 1022 A.D.)
|

There is great confusion here. He was succeeded by Raja Raja who married Irumonanga, daughter of Rajendra Chola or Kulottunga I., and their son Raja Narendra succeeded in 1064 A.D. and was the first Chalukya-Chola Ruler of Vengi, which became thenceforward a Chola Province.

GENEALOGY OF THE GANAPATHIS OF WARANGAL.

TRIBHUVANA MULLA

|

PROLA RAJA *m.* Kuppamma.
About 10 princes seem to have ruled before this king.

|

PRATAPA RUDRA I.

|

GANAPATHI DEVA.
After his death his daughter Rudramma ruled.
(1257 to 1295 A.D.)

|

DAUGHTER *m.* MAHADEVA.

|

PRATAPA RUDRA II.
He was captured and taken prisoner to Delhi.
(1295 to 1323 A.D.)

|

KRISHNA DEVA
Led the confederate Hindu armies against the Mahomedans in 1344 A.D. and expelled the whole of the Mahomedan garrisons from the Deccan for a time. In this expulsion of the Mahomedans, Harihara I. of Vijayanagar, seems to have taken a leading part.

|

VINAYAKA DEVA OR NAGADEVA.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ORISSA.

These trace their descent from Yudhistara. Omitting all reigns and names for which we can give no sufficient historical authority we shall state a few names. After Janamajaya, the most famous was Vikramaditya, the founder of the Samvat Saka. Ruled from 57 B.C. to 78 A.D.

KESARI DYNASTY.

Yayati Kesari founded the Kesari (Lion) dynasty.
(474 to 526 A.D.)

KUNDALA KESARI
Built the temple of Markundaswara in Puri.
(811 to 829 A.D.)

NRIPA KESARI
Founded the city of Cuttack.
(941 to 953 A.D.)

MAKARA KESARI
Built the long and massive stone revetment to protect the city of Cuttack.
(953 to 961 A.D.)

MADHAVA KESARI
Built the fortress of Sarangarh.
(971 to 989 A.D.)

MATSYA KESARI
Built the bridge across the Atharnala at the entrance to Puri.
(1034 to 1050 A.D.)

SUVARNA KESARI
Last Prince of the Kesari dynasty.
(1123 to 1132 A.D.)

Ganga Vamsa was established by Chora Ganga, probably Saranga Dhara, son of Raja Chola and brother of Kulattunga I.

ANANGA BHIMA DEO.
He made a survey of his whole kingdom and built the present beautiful temple of Jagannath.
(1175 to 1202 A.D.)

LANGULIA NARASIMHA.
He built the great Sun temple called the Black Pagoda.
(1237 to 1282 A.D.)

PRATAPA RUDRA DEVA.
His daughter was married to Krishna Deva Rayalu of Vijayanagar.
(1504 to 1532 A.D.)

The province of Orissa was long before subjected to the Cholas and then to the Vijayanagar Princes. Probably the Sovereigns ruled there, paying tribute to the powerful Emperors of Vijayanagar. Deva Raya II. had subdued Orissa, Tennaseram and Ceylon. The Vijayanagar Empire had reached its utmost limits during the time of Deva Raya II. the Great. The succession of Princes is not regularly given. Only the names of those who distinguished themselves have been inserted.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOYSALA BELLALAS.

POYSALA OR HOYSALA
Founder of the Hoysala Bellalas.
(1007 A.D.)

VINAYADITYA TRIBHUVANA MALLA
(1047 to 1100 A.D.)
He was a feudatory of the Western Chalukyan Emperor Vikramaditya IV.

BELLALA I.
(1101 to 1104 A.D.)

BITTI DEVA OR VISHNU VARDHNA.
(1104 to 1141 A.D.)
This was the famous King who was converted to Sri Vaishna-Vaism by Ramanujacharya, the founder of the Visista-dwaitha sect of Sri Vaishnavas, and who built the fine temples at Halebedu and Belur Vikramaditya IV, the Chalukyam Emperor, observed about this king, "Know the Hoysala, alone, among all princes to be unconquer-able."

Udayaditya.

VIRA NARASIMHA I.
(1136 to 1171 A.D.)
A great conqueror.

VIRA BELLALA II.
A great warrior who extended his territories on all sides. He fought several hard battles and finally routed the armies of the Devagiri Yadavas in the battle of Lukkundi.
(1172 to 1219 A.D.)

NARASIMHA II.
(1220 to 1235 A.D.)

SOMESWARA.
(1233 to 1254 A.D.)

NARASIMHA III.
(1254 to 1291 A.D.)

BELLALA III.
(1291 to 1342 A.D.)
The Mahomedans under Mallik Kafur sacked Dwarasamudra in 1310 A.D. and the power of the Bellalas was broken.

BELLALA IV.
(1342 to 1343 A.D.)

GENEALOGY OF THE PALLAVA KINGS.

These Kings are supposed to have ruled between the 4th and 5th centuries.

CHANDA VARMA
|
NANDI VÁRMA
|
SKANDA VARMA
|
BUDDA VARMA
|
SIVA SKANDA VARMA

Then about ten kings ruled up to 620 A.D. Then five kings are named, whose rule comes up to 670 A.D.
Then come five princes whose rule is brought up to 733 A.D.
Then are five kings named who come up to 804 A.D.

NANDI VARMA.
(804 to 810 A.D.)
|
Then four princes come whose reigns extend to 881 A.D.
Then come two Kings whose rule extends to 919 A.D.

ANNIGA BIRA NOLAMBA.
(943 to 974 A.D.)
|
NANNI NOLAMBA.
(975 to 977 A.D.)

GENEALOGY OF THE CHOLA KINGS.

PARANTAKA.

RAJADITYA.
(950 A.D.)

RAJA RAJA.
(984 to 1016 A.D.)

RAJENDRA OR RAJADHI RAJA.
(1016 to 1064 A.D.)

This was a great conqueror, and during his time and that of his son, Kullotunga I., the empire of the Cholas comprised almost the whole of Southern India, Ceylon, and the whole of East Coast, including Bengal, and was at its zenith.

KULLOTUNGA I.
(1064 to 1112 A.D.)

VIKRAMA CHOLA.
(1112 to 1127 A.D.)

KULLOTUNGA II.
(1127 A.D.)

He seems to have ruled for about 50 years.

THE SUCCESSION OF THE JAGADGURUS ON THE PONTIFICAL THRONE OF SRINGERI.

Sri Sankaracharya, born on the 5th day of the bright half of the lunar month, Vaisakha, in the cyclic year, Eswara, in Saka Vikramarka 14.

(This corresponds to 44 B.C.)

He was ordained as a Sanyasi on the 3rd day of the bright half of the lunar month, Vaisakha, in the cyclic year, Parthiva, in Saka Vikrama 22.

(36 B.C.)

He ordained Suraswaracharya as his disciple on the Poornama (15th day) of Chaitra in the year, Vijaya, and went to Kailasa on the 12th day of the bright half of the lunar month, Jaista, in the year Soumya, Saka Vikrama 46.

(This will be about the year 12 B.C.)

This great Adwaitha Preacher and Guru, lived therefore only 32 years.

SANKARACHARYA
36 to 12 B.C.=24 years.

|

SURASWARACHARYA
(From Vikramasaka 30 to Sali Vahana Saka 695) or from 28 B.C. to 773 A.D. sat as Guru on the throne for 800 years.

|

NITYABODHA GHANACHARYA
Also called Sarvagnatman and composed the Vedantic work called "Samkshepa Sariraka."
Saka 680, Vilambi, to S. 770, Vibhava, or 758 to 848 A.D.=90 years.

|

GNANA GHANACHARYA
(Saka 768, Akshaya, to S. 832, Pramoduta.)
846 to 910 A.D.=64 years.

|

GNANOTTAMA SIVACHARYA
(Saka 827, Krodhi, to S. 875, Pramadicha.)
905 to 953 A.D.=48 years.

|

GNANA GIRIACHARYA
(Saka 871, Soumya, to S. 960, Bahudhanya.)
949 to 1038 A.D.=89 years.

|

SIMHAGIRIACHARYA
(Saka 958, Dhatu, to S. 1020, Bahudhanya.)
1036 to 1098 A.D.=62 years.

|

ISWARA THIRTHA
(Saka 1019, Iswara, to 1068, Akshaya.)
1097 to 1146 A.D. =49 years.

|

NARASIMHA THIRTHA
(Saka 1067, Krodhi, to S. 1150, Sarwadhari.)
1145 to 1228 A.D.=83 years.

|

VIDYASANKARA THIRTHA
(Saka 1150, Sarwadhari, to S. 1255, Srimukha.)
1228 to 1333 A.D.=105 years.

This was the famous Guru who ordained the two illustrious brothers, Bhoganatha and Madhava as Bharati Krishna Thirtha, and Vidyaranya, respectively.

BHARATI KRISHNA THIRTHA
(Saka 1250, Vibhava, to S. 1302, Roudri.)
1328 to 1380 A.D.=52 years.

SRI VIDYARANYA
(Saka 1253, Prajotpatti, to S. 1308, Akshaya.)
1331 to 1386 A.D.=55 years.

This is the famous Madhava Vidyaranya, commentator of the Vedas, writer on various branches of knowledge, founder of the grand Empire of Vijayanagar and builder or reviver of the splendid City of Vidyanagar, whose magnificence, extent and resources have been so graphically described by European and Asiatic travellers.

CHANDRASEKARA BHARATI
(Saka 1290, Kilaka, to S. 1311, Sukla.)
1368 to 1389 A.D.=21 years.

NARASIMHA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1309, Prabhava, to S. 1330, Sarwatdhari.)
1387 to 1408 A.D.=21 years.

PURUSHOTTAMA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1328, Vyaya, to S. 1370, Vibhava.)
Contemporary and Guru of Devaraya I.
Vijaya and Devaraya II.
1406 to 1448 A.D.=42 years.

SANKARANANDA
(Saka 1350, Kilaka, to S. 1376, Bhava.)
1428 to 1454 A.D.=26 years.

CHUNDRASEKARA BHARATI
(Saka 1371, Sukla, to S. 1386, Tharana.)
1449 to 1464 A.D.=15 years.

NARASIMHA BHARATI II.
(Saka 1386, Tharana, to S. 1401, Vikari.)
1464 to 1479 A.D.=15 years.

PURUSHOTTAMA BHARATI II.
(Saka 1394, Nandana, to S. 1439, Iswara.)
1472 to 1517 A.D.=45 years.

RAMACHANDRA BHARATI
(Saka 1430, Vibhava, to S. 1482, Raudri.)
1508 to 1560 A.D.=52 years.

NARASIMHA BHARATI III.
(Saka 1479, Pingala, to S. 1495, Srimukha.)
1557 to 1573 A.D.=16 years.

NRISIMHA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1485, Rudhirodgari, to S. 1498, Dhatu.)
1563 to 1576 A.D.=13 years.

IMMADI NARASIMHA BHARATI
(Saka 1498, Dhatu, to S. 1521, Vikari.)
1576 to 1599 A.D.=23 years.

IMMADI NARASIMHA BHARATI
(Saka 1498, Dhatu, to S. 1521, Vikari.)
1576 to 1599 A.D.=23 years.

ABHINAVA NRISIMHA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1521, Vikari, to S. 1544, Dundubhi.)
1599 to 1622 A D.=23 years.

ABHINAVA SACHIDANANDA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1544, Dundubhi, to S. 1585, Shobhakritu.)
1622 to 1663 A.D.=41 years.

NRISIMHA BHARATI II.
(Saka 1585, Shobhakritu, to S. 1627, Parthiva.)
1663 to 1705 A.D.=42 years.

SACHIDANANDA BHARATI I.
(Saka 1627, Parthiva, to S. 1663, Durmati.)
1705 to 1741 A.D.=36 years.

ABHINAVA SACHIDANANDA BHARATI II.
(Saka 1663, Durmati, to S. 1689, Sarwajitu.)
1741 to 1767 A.D.=26 years.

ABHINAVA NRISIMHA BHARATI II
(Saka 1689, Sarwajit, to S. 1692, Vikruti.)
1767 to 1770 A.D.=3 years.

SACHIDANANDA BHARATI II.
(Saka 1692, Vikruti, to S. 1736, Bhava.)
1770 to 1814 A.D.=44 years.

ABHINAVA SACHIDANANDA BHARATI III.
(Saka 1736, Bhava, to 1739, Iswara.)
1814 to 1817 A.D.=3 years.

NARASIMHA BHARATI IV.
(Saka 1739, Iswara, to S. 1801, Pramadi.)
1817 to 1879 A.D.=62 years.
He was 82 years old when he died.

SACHIDANANDA SIVABHINAVA NRISIMHA BHARATI
Ordained as Jagadguru in the cylic year, Akshaya, S. 1790. (1868 A.D.).

The present Jagadguru on the pontifical throne of Sringeri to whom this history is dedicated as His Holiness is the worthy successor of Sri Vidyaranya, the establisher of the Sangama Dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar.

This list is copied from a manuscript which was in the *Puja* (worship) box of Narasimha Bharati IV. and comes therefore from the best source. Mr. Rice says that the "list is obtained from the Matt." and he misleads the readers by observing "that the preceding dates are absurdly referred to the Vikrama Saka in the 14th year of which Sankaracharya is said to have been born, and to connect the two years Sureswaracharya is gravely asserted to have held his authority 800 years, although only thirty-two years are granted to Sankaracharya." Mr. Rice then majestically says that Sankaracharya was born in 737 A.D., consecrated in 745 A.D., and died in

769 A.D. That "Sankaracharya lived in the latter part of the 8th century," observes Mr. Rice triumphantly "has been conclusively proved," and this has been "admitted by Drs. Buhler and M. Barth." These are indeed grave words for an archæological writer to assert when he has to depend upon others for his information. The following may be taken into consideration as affording some internal evidence. The force of logic and reason seems dull with Mr. Rice. The very fact, that out of the two, *viz.*, Sankaracharya and Sureswaracharya, the first was not only the spiritual preceptor of the second, but admittedly his superior in wisdom and knowledge, argues strongly that if the writers wanted to misrepresent facts, they would naturally have given 800 years to Sankara, the greatest of the whole lot, and 32 years to Sureswara. That they simply represented facts is proved by Mr. Rice's own argument. Kirti Varma II., of the Chalukyas, lost his territories in 753 A.D.; having ascended the throne in 747 A.D., Sarvagnataman or Nityabodha Ghanacharya, the pupil and successor of Sureswaracharya, states at the end of his Vedantic work called Samkshepa Sariraka, that he composed it, while the prosperous King of the Kshetria Race, the Aditya of the race of Manu, whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."

"This description," says Dr. Bhandarkar, who certainly was able to read the Sanskrit books much better than Mr. Rice, "would apply with propriety to such a King as Vikramaditya I., Vinayaditya, Vijayaditya or Vikramaditya II. of the early Chalukyan dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Adityas of the race of Manu," for the Manavya race to which they belonged may be understood as the "race of Manu." The description given by Sarvagnataman can hardly be applicable to minor princes, and therefore says the learned Doctor, "Sankaracharya's date (S. 710, S. 742 or 788 to 820 A.D.) must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the four princes of the early Chalukyan dynasty." In the list of Gurus submitted above, there are some remarkably long lives which deserve special notice. Nityabodha Ghanacharya was Guru for 90 years. Narasimha Thirtha 83 years, Vidyasankara Thirtha, the Guru of Vidyaranya, was priest for 105 years and Gnanagiriacharya, 89 years. The length of life of these Gurus must certainly have been hundred and more. The Mutt list treating of this *Guru Parampara* is kept locked up in the Guru's own *Puja* box and must therefore be considered as sacred and faithful until the contrary is clearly shown by external and disinterested evidence. Sarvagnataman was ordained in 758 A.D. and thenceforward he probably assumed the name of Nityabodha Ghanacharya. Like Vidyaranya, he must have been called Sarvagnataman before his consecration. He probably received his early training in Vedantha Philosophy direct from Sureswara, and composed his work before his ordination as Guru of the Sringeri Mutt. This point however requires further discussion. The Chalukyans lost their supremacy in 753 A.D., and the monarchs who were ruling before that period were Vijayaditya and Vikramaditya II. The inscriptions relating to Vikramaditya II. are loud in praising his patronage and charities. He seems to have been a great conqueror and patron of letters. Vikramaditya got a good

deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants and instruments of martial music from the capture of Kanchi to which he marched in person at the head of his victorious army. He entered the city but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to the Brahmins, and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Raja Simheswara and other gods the gold which it appears had been taken by some previous kings. "He then fought with the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Keralas and the Kalabras, and reduced them." Probably, Sarvagnatman was studying at Kanchi, or had occasion to see this victorious monarch who appeared really glorious as the sun to his then illustrious race, and whose charitable and condescending disposition must have tempted the young Vedantic writer to speak of him at the end of his book in suitable praise. Scholars of Vidyaranya's intellectual ability and acumen certainly used their judgments and it would be uncharitable to say until the contrary is clearly proved that he permitted to be inserted in the list of the Gurus 105 years for his preceptor and predecessor Vidyasankara, and 800 years to Sureswara knowing them to be false. If Vidyasankara ruled as Guru for 105 years, he must have been 120 or 125 years when he died. Vidyaranya was his direct disciple. Traditions, when strongly supported by internal and external evidence in literature and inscriptions, ought not to be neglected or rejected, simply because in the light of present archæological knowledge or according to the whims of some of them certain events appear incredible. A true spirit of profound enquiry alone must be the guide of writers on ancient histories.

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